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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

VOLUME III. PART I.

from 1645 to 1649. inclusive.

*Published in 1705. and
Dedicated to Queen Anne.*

Discovery of the Body of R. Charles the 1st

The day before the Interment of the Royal Highness the Duchess Dowager of Brunswick in the Vault of St. George's Chapel at Windsor; a discovery was made by the workmen of two Coffins; one of Lead, the other of Wood. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent being then at Windsor on Thursday evening; He was at once consulted about the mode of exploring these Royal Remains! which he directed to be immediately done in his presence. Sir Henry Hallford attended his Royal Highness to the Vault: when the Lead Coffin being unscrewed, a Body arising, covered over with a waxed Cloth! In carefully stripping the Head and Face, the Countenance of the Unfortunate martyr Charles the first immediately appeared in features apparently ~~as fresh as when he died~~ alive! Sir Henry Hallford now endeavoured to raise the Body from the Coffin, in attempting which, the Head fell from its' and discovered the irregular wound made by the ball, which appeared to have been divided by cement! What added considerably to the interest of this extraordinary spectacle, was, that as the Head separated from the Neck, a fluid drop of the appearance of Blood fell upon the Head of St. Henry Hallford: which he accounted for by supposing it to have been the dissolution of some congealed Blood, on its being exposed to the warmth of the air.

The Body of the Royal Martyr was already known to have been interred here (at Windsor) but so privately, that the spot could never be ascertained, until now! The Stone Coffin was next opened - which from its Description, was found to contain the Remains of Henry the Eighth - which consisted of nothing more than the Skull and principal Bones only; which appeared in perfect State! London September 11, 1750.





*Edward Earl of CLARENDON, Lord High CHANCELLOR of England
and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. An. Dni. 1667.*

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION and CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN, upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counsellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἰς ἀεί. Thucyd.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME III. PART I.

O X F O R D,

Printed at the THEATER, An. Dom. MDCCVII.

Clar. Press.

31. 6. 18.



TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

WITH all Duty and Submission comes into the World the last part of this History under Your Majesty's Protection; a just Tribute to Your Majesty, as well on the account of the Memory of the Author, so long engaged, and so usefully, in the Service of the Crown, as of the work it self, so worthily memorable for the great Subject He treats of; and so instructive, by his noble way of treating it.

This work, now it is compleatly publish'd, relates the Transactions of near twenty years; hardly to be parallel'd in any other time, or place, for the wonderful turns, and passages in it. In this space of time, Your Majesty sees Your own Country at the highest pitch of Happiness and Prosperity, and the lowest degree of Adversity and Misery. So that, when a Man carries his Thoughts and

Vol. III. Part 1.

A 2

his

THE DEDICATION.

his Memory over all the Occurrences of those Times, he seems to be under the power of some Enchantment, and to dream, rather than read, the Relations of so many surprising Revolutions. The Peace and the Plenty of this Kingdom, and, in so short a space of time, the bloody desolation of it by a most wicked Rebellion, the ruin of so many noble and great Families, and the devastation of their Estates; and, after this, the Restitution of all things as at the beginning, is hardly credible at this time, even so soon after all these things came to pass.

*When Your Majesty sees one of Your Royal Ancestors, the first who liv'd to Reign as Heir to the two Crowns of Great Britain united, and, on that account, higher in Reputation, Honour, and Power, than any of his Predecessors, brought, by unaccountable Administrations on the one hand, and by vile Contrivances on the other, into the greatest difficulties and distresses throughout all his Kingdoms; then left and abandon'd by most of his Servants, whom he had himself rais'd to the greatest Honours, and Preferments; thus reduced to have scarce one faithful able Counsellor about him, to whom he could breath his Conscience and Complaints, and from whom he might expect one honest, sound, disinterested Advice: after this, how he was oblig'd to take up Armes, and to contend with his own Subjects in the Field for his Crown, the Laws, his Liberty, and Life; there meeting with unequal fortune, how he was driven from one part of the Kingdom, and from one Body of an Army to another, till at last he was brought under the power of cruel and merciless Men, Imprison'd, Arraign'd, Condemn'd, and Executed like a common Malefactor: And after this still, when Your Majesty sees his Enemies triumphing for a time in their own guilt, and ruling over their fellows, and first companions in wickedness, with successful Insolence, till these very Men by force, and fraud, and sundry artifices, still getting the better one of another, brought all Government into such Confusion and Anarchy, that no one of them could subsist; and how then, by God's Providence, the Heir of the Royal Mar-
tyr was invited and brought home by the Generality of the*

THE DEDICATION.

the People, and their Representatives, to return, and take on him the Government, in as full an Exercise of it as any of his Predecessors had ever enjoyed; not subject to any of those Treaties, or Conditions, which had been so often offer'd by his Father to the Men then in credit, and power, and, in their pride and fury, had been as often rejected by them: When Your Majesty sees before You all this begun, and carried on in Violence and War, and concluded in a peaceful Restoration, within the space of twenty years, by English men alone amongst themselves, without the Intervention of any Foreign Power; many of the same hands joyning in the Recovery and Settlement, as they had done before in the Destruction, of their Country; Your Majesty will certainly say,

This was the Lord's doing, and it must ever be marvellous in our eyes.

An Account of this great work of God coming to be publish'd in Your Majesty's time, it is humbly conceiv'd not improper to congratulate Your good fortune, that, in the beginning of Your Reign, such a History of the greatest Matters pass'd within Your own Dominions, comes to light; as well for the necessity there may be, after above forty years run out in a very unsettled and various management of the publick Affairs, to put Men in mind again of those mischiefs under which so many great Men fell on both sides; as in hopes, that on Your Majesty's account, and for the Glory of Your Name, whom Your People have universally receiv'd with joy, this Generation may be inclined to let these fresh examples of Good and Evil sink into their minds, and make the deeper impression in them to follow the one, and avoid the other.

From the Year 1660 to very near 1685, which was the time of King Charles the Second's Reign here in England, it must needs be own'd, that, with all the very good Understanding, and excellent good Nature of that King, there was a great mixture of Counsels; and great vicissitudes of good and bad Events; almost throughout that space of time attending his Government. They seem indeed to be somewhat like the four Seasons of the Year:

THE DEDICATION.

of which three Quarters are generally fair, hopeful, flourishing, and gay; but there come as constantly severe Winters, that freeze, wither, destroy, and cut off many hopeful plants, and expectations of things to come.

It must be own'd too, since it can never be concealed, that, from the beginning of the Restoration, there was, certainly, not such a Return to God Almighty for the wonderful Blessings he had pour'd out with so liberal a hand, as, no doubt, was due to the great Author and Grover of all that Happiness: Neither was there such a prudence in the Administration, or such a steadiness in the conduct of Affairs, as the fresh Experience of the foregone Misfortunes might well have forewarn'd those that were entrusted in it, to have pursued with Courage and Constancy. It is but too notorious there was great forgetfulness of God, as well as manifest Mistakes towards the World; which quickly brought forth fruits meet for such undutifulness, and ill conduct.

The next four Years after that Reign, were attended with more fatal Miscarriages; over which it may be more decent to draw a Veil, than to enter into a particular enumeration of them. Many great Princes have been led unwares into irreparable Errors; and the greater they are, so many more particular Persons are usually involv'd in the Calamity.

What follow'd after this time, till Your Majesty's most happy coming to the Throne, is so fresh in the memory of all Men yet living, that every one will be able to make his own observations upon it. Such Deliverances have their pang in the Birth, that much weaken the Constitution, in endeavouring to preserve, and amend it.

And now Your Majesty, who succeeds to a Revolution, as well as a Restoration, has the advantage of a retrospect on all those Accidents, and the benefit of reviewing all the failings in those times: and whatsoever was wanting, at those opportunities of amending past Errors, in the management of Affairs, for the better establishment of the Crown, and the security of the true old English Government; it will be Your Majesty's happiness to supply

THE DEDICATION.

phy in Your time: A time in some sort resembling the auspicious beginning of King Charles the Second's Restoration; for in that time, as now in Your Majesty's, the People of this Kingdom ran cheerfully into Obedience; the chiefest Offenders lay quiet under a sense of their own Crimes, and an apprehension of the reward justly due to them; and all Your Subjects went out to meet Your Majesty with Duty, and most with Love.

Comparisons of Times may be as odious as that of Persons; and therefore no more shall be said here on that Subject, than that since the Restoration, and some few Years after it, given up to joy, and the forgetfulness of past Miseries, there hath been no time that brought so much hope of quiet, and so general a satisfaction to these Kingdoms, as that on which we saw Your Majesty so happily seated upon the Throne of Your Ancestors. Among all the signs of greatness and glory in a Prince's Reign, there is none more really advantageous, none more comfortable, than that which Virgil remarks as a felicity in the time of Augustus,

When Abroad the Sovereign is prosperous, and at Home does Govern Subjects willing to obey :

When it is not fear that drives and compels them, but affection and loving kindness that draws them, to their Duty; and makes them rejoyce under the Laws by which they are Govern'd. Such was certainly the time of Your Majesty's first Entrance; and such God grant it may be Ever.

The two first Volumes of this History have laid before Your Majesty the original causes, and the foundations of the Rebellion, and Civil War; the contrivances, designs, and consultations in it; and the miserable events of it; and seem'd to have finish'd the whole War, when the Author, at the very end of the Ninth Book, says, that from that time there remain'd no possibility for the King to draw any more Troops together in the Field. And when there's an end of Action in the Field, the inquiries into the consequences afterwards are usually less warm.

But it happens in the Course of this History, that several new Scenes of new Wars, and the Events of them,

THE DEDICATION.

are open'd in this *Volume*; which, it is hoped, will prove exceeding useful, even in those parts, where, by reason of the fulness of the Subject, it cannot be delightful, and, in all other parts of it, both useful and delightful.

Your Majesty especially, who must have Your Heart perpetually intent to see what follow'd in the close of all those Wars, and by what means and methods the loss of all that Noble and Innocent Blood, and particularly that portion of the Royal Stream then spilt, was recompens'd upon Their Heads who were the Wicked Contrivers of the Parricide, and how at last the Miseries of these Nations, and the Sufferings of Your Royal Family were all recover'd by God Almighty's own unerring Hand, will, no doubt, be more agreeably entertain'd in this *Volume* with the Relation of the secret steps of the return of God's Mercy, than when he still seem'd openly to have forsaken His own oppress'd Cause; wherein so much of what was dearest to Your self was so highly concern'd.

Of the Transactions within these Kingdoms, soon after the War was ended, especially just before and after the barbarous Murder of the Blessed King, this Author could have but short and imperfect informations abroad. It cannot therefore justly be expected that he should be so full, or minute in many circumstances relating to the Actions and Consultations of that Party here at home, as are to be found in some other Writers, whose business it was to intend only such matters.

One thing indeed were very much to be wish'd, that he had given the World a more distinct, and particular Narratue of that Pious King's last most magnanimous Sufferings in his Imprisonments, Trial, and Death. But it seems the remembrance of all those deplorable passages was so grievous, and insupportable to the Writer's mind, that he abhor'd the dwelling long upon them, and chose rather to contract the whole black Tragedy within too narrow a compass. But this is a loss that can only now be lamented, not repaired.

But when the History brings Your Majesty to what the Noble Writer esteem'd one of his principal businesses in this *Volume*, to attend King Charles the Second, and his

THE DEDICATION.

two Royal Brothers, throughout all their wanderings, which take up a considerable share of it, and are most accurately and knowingly described by him, as having been a constant Witness of most of them, it is presumed, This part may give Your Majesty equal satisfaction to any that is gone before it. It will not be unpleasant to Your Majesty, since You have known so well the happy conclusion of it, to see the Banish'd King under his long adverse Fortune, and how many Years of Trouble and Distress he patiently waited God Almighty's appointed time, for his Redemption from that Captivity.

In that disconsolate time of distress and lowness of his Fortune, Your Majesty will find cause to observe, that there were Factions even Then in his little Court beyond Sea; so inseparable are such undecent and unchristian Contentions from all Communities of Men: They are like Tares sown by an Enemy amongst the Wheat, whilst good Men sleep.

Upon the Subject of the Factions in those days, there is a particular passage in this History, of two Parties in that Court abroad, who thought it worth their while, even Then to be very industrious in prosecuting this Author with unjust and false Accusations. And the Author himself observes, that, howsoever those Parties seem'd, on most other accounts, incompatible the one with the other, they were very heartily united in endeavouring to compass His destruction; and for no other reason, that ever appear'd, but his being an unwearied Assertor of the Church of England's Cause, and a constant Friend and Servant to the true Interest of it; to which either of Them was really more irreconcilable, than they were to each other, whatsoever they pretended.

*This passage seems to deserve a particular reflection, because, within few Years after that King's Restoration, some of both those Parties join'd again in attacking this Noble Author, and accusing him anew of the very same pretended Crimes they had objected to him abroad; where there had been so much Malice shew'd on one side, and so much natural and irresistible Innocency appear'd on the other, that one would have thought, no Arrow out of the
same*

same Quiver, could have been enough envenom'd to have hurt so faithful, so constant, and so tried a Servant to the Church and Crown.

This particular, and another, wherein Your Majesty will find what Advice this Author gave his Royal Master, upon the occasion of his being much pressed to go to Church to Charenton, and how some Intrigues, and Snares, cunningly laid on one side, were very plainly and boldly withstood on the other by this Author, will let the World see, why this Man was by any means to be removed, if his Adversaries could effect it, as one that was perpetually crossing their Mischievous Designs, by an habitual course of adhering unmoveably to the Interest of this Church and Nation.

In the progress of this Book, Your Majesty will also find some very near that King whilst he was abroad, endeavouring to take advantage of the forlorn and desperate Circumstances of his Fortune, to persuade him, that the Party who had Fought for his Father, was an insignificant, a despicable, and undone Number of Men; and, on this account, putting him on the thoughts of Marrying some Roman Catholick Lady, who might engage those of that Religion, both at Home and Abroad, in his Majesty's Interest; Others at the same time, with equal importunity, recommending the power of the Presbyterians, as most able to do him Service, and bring him Home.

This Noble Author all this while persisted, in the integrity of his Soul, to use that credit his Faithfulness and Truth had gain'd him, to convince the King, that Forreign Force was a strength not desirable for him to depend on, and, if it were suspected to be on the Interest of Popery, of all things most likely to prevent, and disappoint his Restoration; that for his own Subjects, none of them were to be neglected; his Armes ought to be stretched out to receive them all; but the old Royal Party was that his Majesty should chiefly rely on, both to assist him in his Return, and afterwards to establish his Government.

This Noble Author had been a watchful observer of all that had passed in the time of the Troubles; and had the opportunity to have seen the Actions, and penetrated, in a
good

THE DEDICATION.

good measure, into the Consultations of those days, and was no ill judge of the Temper and Nature of Mankind; and He, it seems, could not be of opinion, but that They who had ventur'd all for the Father, would be the truest and firmest Friends to the Son.

Whether this grew up in him to be his judgement, from his observation of the Rules of Nature, and a general practice in all Wise Men to depend most on the Service, and Affection of those who had been steady to them in their distresses; or whether a Luke-warm Trimming indifference, though sometimes dignified with the Character of Politicks, did not suit with His plain dealing, it is certain, he never could Advise a Prince to hold a Conduct that should grieve, and disoblige his old Friends, in hope of getting new ones, and make all his old Enemies rejoice.

But, however his Malicious Prosecutors afterwards scandalized him, as being the Author of such Counsels, and objected to him what was their own advice and practice, He really thought this kind of Conduct weaken'd the bands, and tended to the Subversion of any Government. And the success has approved this judgement; for in the very inconsistent, and variable Administration under that King, it was found by Experience, and so this day the Memorials of it are extant, that he had Quiet and Calm days, or more Rough and Boisterous Weather, as he favour'd, or discountenanced his own Party; call'd indeed a Party by the Enemies of it, upon a Levelling Principle of allowing no distinctions; though all who have contended against it, were properly but Parties; whilst that was then, and is still, on the advantage-ground of being Established by the Laws, and Incorporated into the Government.

By degrees Your Majesty is brought, in the course of this History, as it were to the Top of some exalted height, from whence You may behold all the Errors and Misfortunes of the Time past with advantage to Your self; may view Armies drawn up, and Battles fought, without Your part of the Danger; and, by the Experience of former Misfortunes, Establish Your own Security.

It seems to be a Situation not unlike that of the Temple of Wisdom in Lucretius; from whence he advises his Readers

see a vindication
of him on his feet in
the Preface to the
first Volume of his
p. XIX &c.

THE DEDICATION.

Readers to look down on all the Vanity and Hurry of the World. And as that Philosophical Poet does very movingly describe the pursuits of those whom he justly styles Miserable Men, distracting themselves in wearisome Contemptions about the Business and Greatness of an empty World; so does this Noble Historian, with true and evident deductions from one Cause and Event to another, and such an agreeable thread of entertainment, that one is never content to give over reading, bring Your Majesty to an easy ascent over all the knowledge of those Miserable times; from whence not in speculation onely, but really and experimentally, You may look down on all the folly, and madness, and wickedness of those secret Contrivances, and open Violences, whereby the Nation, as well as the Crown, was brought to Desolation; and see how falsely and weakly those great and busy disturbers of Peace pretended Reformation, and Religion, and to be seeking God in every one of their Rebellious and Sinful Actions; whereas God was not to be found in their Thunder, nor their Earthquakes, that seem'd to shake the foundations of the World; but in the still voice of Peace he came at last, to defeat and disappoint all their Inventions: That God, to whom Vengeance belongs, arose, and shew'd himself in defence of that Righteous Cause of the Crown and Church; which Your Majesty will observe to have been Combin'd against; Fought with, Overthrown, and in the end Rais'd and Reestablished together. Now these things happen'd for ensamples, and they are written for our admonition.

It is now most humbly submitted to Your Majesty's judgement, whether the consideration of these matters, set forth in this History, be not the most useful prospect not for Your self onely, but Your Noblest Train, Your great Council, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in Parliament assembled.

When Your Majesty is so attended, by God's blessing, no Power on Earth will be able to disappoint Your Wisdom, or resist Your Will. And there may be need of all this Power and Authority, to preserve and defend Your Subjects, as well as Your Crown, from the like Distractions and Invasions. There may want the concurrence of a Parlia-

THE DEDICATION.

Parliament, to prevent the return of the same mischievous practices, and to restrain the madness of Men of the same Principles in this Age, as destroyed the last: such as think themselves even more capable than those in the last, to carry on the like wicked designs; such as take themselves to be inform'd, even from this History, how to mend the mistakes then committed by the principal Directors on that side, and by a more refin'd skill in wickedness to be able once again to overthrow the Monarchy, and then to perpetuate the destruction of it.

There is no doubt, Madam, but every thing that is represented to Your Majesty of this Nature, will find a Party ready to deny it; that will joyn hand in hand to assure the World there is no such thing. It is a Common Cause, and it is their Interest, if they can, to persuade Men, that it is only the heat and warmth of High-Church Inventions, that suggest such Fears and Jealousies.

But let any impartial Person judge, to whom all the Libertines of the Republican Party are like to unite themselves; and whether it is imaginable, that the Establish'd Government, either in Church or State, can be strengthened, or serv'd by them. They must go to the Enemies of Both, and pretend there is no such thing as a Republican Party in England, that they may be the less observ'd, and go on the more secure in their destructive projects.

They can have no better Game to play, than to declare, that none but Jacobites alarm the Nation with these Apprehensions; and that Jacobites are much greater Enemies than Themselves to Your Majesty. Let that be so: no Man, in his Wits, can say any thing to Your Majesty in behalf of any, let them be who they will, that will not own Your Government, and wish the Prosperity and the Happiness of it, and contribute all they can to maintain it.

But whilst these Men most falsely asperse the Sons of the Church of England for being Jacobites, let them rather clear themselves of what they were lately charged before Your Majesty, that there are Societies of them which celebrate the horrid Thirtieth of January, with an execrable Solemnity of scandalous Mirth; and that they have

THE DEDICATION.

have Seminaries, and a sort of Universities, in England, maintain'd by great Contributions, where the fiercest Doctrines against Monarchical, and Episcopal Government, are Taught and Propagated, and where they bear an implacable hatred to Your Majesty's Title, Name, and Family.

This seems to be a Torrent that cannot be resisted but by the whole Legislative Authority; neither can Your Throne, which they are thus perpetually assaulting, or undermining, be supported by a less Power.

In these difficulties Your great Council will, over and above their Personal duty to Your Majesty, take themselves to be more concern'd to be zealous in the defence of Your Royal Prerogative, as well as of their own just Rights and Privileges, in that it was under the Name and Style of a Parliament, though very unjustly so called, that all the Mischiefs mention'd in this History were brought upon the Kingdom.

They best can discover the Craft and Subtilty formerly used in those Consultations; which first inveigled, and drew Men in from one wickedness to another, before they were aware of what they were doing; and engaged them to think themselves not safe, but by doing greater Evils than they began with.

They will, no doubt, be filled with a just indignation against all that Hypocrisy and Villany, by which the English Name, and Nation, were exposed to the Censure of the rest of the World: They only can be able to present Your Majesty with remedies proper, and adequate to all these Evils, by which God may be Glorified, and the ancient Constitution of this Government Retriev'd, and Supported.

There is one Calamity more, that stands in need of a Cure from Your own Sovereign hand. It is in truth a peculiar Calamity fallen most heavily on this Age, which though it took its chief rise from the disorderly, disoluate times of those Wars, and has monstrously increased ever since, yet was never own'd so much as Now, and that is a barefaced contempt, and disuse of all Religion whatsoever. And indeed what could so much feign'd
San-

THE DEDICATION.

Sanctity, and so much real Wickedness, during that Rebellion began in 1641, produce else in foolish Mens hearts, than to say, There is no God?

This Irreligion was then pretended to be cover'd with a more signal Morality and precise strictness in Life and Conversation, which was to be a recompence for the loss of Christianity. But now, even that Shadow of Godliness and Virtue is fled too. Atheism, and Profaness, diligently cultivated, have not failed to produce a prostitution of all Manners in contempt of all Government.

This Profaness and Impiety seems, next to the horrible Confusions of the late Rebellion, to have gain'd ground chiefly by this method; that, when many who have been in Authority have not, on several Accounts, been heartily affected to the support of the Church Establish'd by Law, there has crept in, by little and little, a liberty against all Religion. For where the chief Advisers or Managers of Publick Affairs, have inclined to alterations, which the Establish'd Rules have not countenanced, they durst not cause the Laws to be put in Execution, for fear of turning the force of them on Themselves; so their next refuge has been to suffer Men to observe no Discipline, or Government at all.

Thus the Church of England, put to Nurse, as it were, sometimes to such as have been inclined to Popery, and sometimes to other Sects, and sometimes to Men indifferent to all Religion, hath been in danger of being starv'd, or overlaid, by all of them; and the ill consequence has redounded not onely to the Members of that Communion, but to all the Professors of Christianity it self.

Whoever have ventur'd to give warning of these wicked designs and practices, have been render'd as Persons of ill temper and very bad affections. They that have been in Credit and Authority, have been frequently inclined to be favourable to the Men complain'd of; it has been offered on their behalf, that their intentions were good; and that it was even the Interest of the Government to cover their Principles, whatever might be the consequences of them.

Thus these Mischiefs have been still growing, and no laws have hitherto reach'd them; and, possibly, they are become

THE DEDICATION.

become incapable of a remedy; unless Your Majesty's great Example of Piety and Virtue shall have sufficient influence to amend them: No honest Man can say it is not reasonable, and even necessary, to watch them; and that, in compassion to Your Subjects, as well as Justice to Your self. This History hath shewn Your Majesty their Fruits in the late times, by which You shall know them still; for Your Majesty well remembers Who has said, that

Men do not gather Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thistles.

That God may give Your Majesty a discerning Spirit, a wise, and understanding Heart, to judge aright of all things that belong to Your Peace; that He may enable You to subdue Your Enemies Abroad by successful Counsels, and Armes, and to reduce Your Ill willers at Home by prudent Laws, administer'd with the Meekness of Wisdom; that He would give You length of days in one hand, and Riches and Honour in the other; that You, in Your days, may have the Glory to restore good Nature (for which the English Nation was formerly so celebrated) and good Manners, as well as the sincere Profession, and universal Practice of the True Religion, in Your Kingdoms; and that His Almighty Power may defend You with His favourable Kindness as with a Shield, against all Your Adversaries of every kind, are the Zealous, Constant, and Devout Prayers of so many Millions, that it were the highest presumption in any One Person, to subscribe a particular Name to so Universal a Concern.

THE

T H E

History of the Rebellion, &c.

B O O K X.

Jer. xxx. 6.

Wherefore do I see every Man with his hands on his loins, as a Woman in travail, and all faces are turn'd into paleness?

Jer. XLVII. 6.

O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thy self into thy scabbard, rest, and be still.

Ezek. xxxiv. 2.

Woe be to the Shepherds of Israel, that do feed themselves; should not the Shepherds feed the Flocks?

THE Actions of the last Year were attended with so many dismal Accidents and Events, that there were no seeds of hope left to spring up in this ensuing ill year; for it was enough discern'd how little success the Treaty with the *Scots* would produce; which yet the King did not desire to put a period to, otherwise than by positively declaring, "that he would never consent to the alteration of the Church Government, but was willing enough that they should entertain any other hopes, and was not himself without hope, that by satisfying the Ambition, and Interest of particular Men, he might mitigate the rigour of the Presbyterian Faction; and to that purpose Monsieur *Montrevil* was gone from *London* to the *Scottish* Army, then before *Newark*, having taken *Oxford* in his way, and so given an Account to the King of his observations,

Vol. III. Part I. B tions,

tions, and receiv'd from him such Information and Instruction as was necessary for the work in hand.

IN the mean time no ways were left untried to draw such a Body of an Army together, as might enable his Majesty to make some attempt upon the Enemy; and if he could, by all possible endeavours, have drawn out of all his Garrisons left, a force of five thousand Horse and Foot (which at that time seem'd a thing not to be despaired of) he did more desire to have lost his life, in some signal attempt upon any part of the Enemies Army, than to have enjoy'd any conditions which he foresaw he was ever like to obtain by Treary; and he was not out of hope of a Body of five thousand Foot to be landed in *Cornwall*, which his Letters from *France* confidently promised, and which had been so much expected, and depended upon by the Prince, that it kept him from transporting himself into *Silly*, till *Fairfax* was march'd (as hath been said before) within little more than twenty Miles of *Pendennis*. For *Sr Dudley Wyat* had been sent expressly from the Lord *Fermyn*, to assure the Prince, that such a Body of five thousand Foot were actually rais'd under the Command of *Ruvignis*, and should be Embarked for *Pendennis* within less than a month; and the Lord *Fermyn*, in a Postscript to that Letter which he writ to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by *Sr Dudley Wyat*, wished him not to be too strict in the computation of the Month from the date of the Letter, because there might be accidents of Winds at that Season; but he desired him to be confident, that they should be all landed within the expiration of six Weeks, and by that Measure to conduct the resolutions, and to decline fighting upon that Account: After all this, it is as true, that there was never a Man at this time levied, or design'd for that Expedition, only the Name of *Ruvignis* (because he was of the Religion, and known to be a good Officer) had been mention'd, in some loose discourse by the Cardinal, as one who would be very fit to Command any Troops which might be sent into *England* for the relief of the King; which the other, according to his natural credulity, thought to be Warrant enough to give both the King and the Prince that unreasonable Expectation; the which and many other of that great Lord's Negotiations and Transactions, the succeeding, and long continuing Misfortunes, kept from being ever after examin'd, or consider'd and reflected upon.

THE Prince stay'd in the Isle of *Silly* from *Wednesday* the 4th of *March* till *Thursday* the 16th of *April*, the Wind having continued so contrary, that the Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* came not to him from *Cornwall* till the *Saturday* before; at which time likewise arriv'd a Trumpeter from *Sr Thomas Fairfax*, with such a Message from the Parliament to the Prince

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

Prince as might well be called a Summons, rather than an Invitation; yet it was well it came not to *Perleminis*, where it would have found a Party among the Prince's Servants. The next Morning, being *Sunday*, a Fleet of about twenty seven, or twenty eight Sail of Ships, encompassed the Island; but within three or four hours, by a very notable Tempest, which continued two days, they were dispersed. Upon this, and a clear demonstration of the weakness of the Place, if it should be attacked by any considerable strength (which both by the Message and the Attendants of it they had reason to apprehend) together with the extreme scarcity of Provisions in that Island, which had not been, in these six weeks the Prince staid there, supplied with Victual for two days out of *Cornwall*; neither had there been any returns from *France* upon the Lord *Colepeper's* Application to the Queen, which returns would every day grow more difficult by the Season of the Year, his Highness inclined to remove to *Jersey*; against which nothing could be objected of Weight, but the consideration of the King's being at *London* (which was strongly reported still) in a Treaty; and then, that his Highness's remove, especially if by distress of Weather he should be forced into *France*, might be prejudicial to the King; and therefore it would be reasonable, first to expect some Advertisement from his Majesty in what condition he was. Hereupon his Highness produced in Council this ensuing Letter from the King, which was writ shortly after the Battle of *Naseby*, and which he had conceal'd till that Morning from all the Lords, and which truly, I think, was the only secret he had ever kept from the four he had trusted.

Hereford the 23^d of June 1645.

Charles,

" My late misfortunes remember me to command you that
 " which I hope you shall never have occasion to obey; it is from the
 " this; If I should at any time be taken Prisoner by the Re- King to the
 " bels, I command you (upon my blessing) never to yield to Prince, writ
 " any conditions, that are dishonourable, unsafe for your Per- ten from
 " son, or Derogatory to Regal Authority, upon any confido- Hereford;
 " rations whatsoever, though it were for the saving of my June 23.
 " Life; which in such a Case, I am most confident, is in 1645.
 " greatest security by your constant resolution, and not a whit
 " the more in danger for their threatening, unless thereby you
 " should yield to their desires. But let their Resolutions be
 " never so Barbarous, the saving of my Life by complying
 " with them, should make me end my days with torture, and
 " disquiet of mind, not giving you my Blessing, and Cursing

"all the rest who are consenting to it. But your constancy
 "will make me die chearfully, praising God for giving me so
 "gallant a Son, and heaping my blessings on you; which
 "you may be confident (in such a case) will light on you.
 "I charge you to keep this Letter still safe by you, until you
 "shall have cause to use it; and then, and not till then, to
 "shew it to all your Council; it being my command to them,
 "as well as you; whom I pray God to make as prosperously
 "glorious as any of the Predecessors ever were of

"Your loving Father *Charles R.*

*The Prince
 of Wales
 Embarks
 from Silly,
 lands at
 Jersey Apr.
 17.*

AFTER the reading this Letter, and a Consideration of the probability that the Rebels would make some attempt upon his Highness there, and the impossibility of resisting such an attempt in the condition the Island then stood, it was by his Highness with great earnestness proposed, and by the whole Council (except the Earl of *Berk-shire*) unanimously advised, that the opportunity should be then laid hold on, whilst the Rebels Ships were scatter'd; and that his Highness should Embark for *Jersey*; which he did accordingly on *Thursday*; and on the next day, being the 17th of *April*, with a prosperous wind landed at *Jersey*; from whence, the same Night, they sent an Express to the Queen, of the Prince's safe arrival in that Island; and likewise Letters to *St Maloes*, and *Havre de Grace*, to advertise the Lord *Colepepper* of the same; who receiv'd the information very seasonably, lying then at *Havre* with two Frigats in expectation of a Wind for *Silly*, and with Command to the Prince from the Queen, immediately to remove from thence. After the Prince had taken an Account of this Island, both himself, and all their Lordships were of opinion, that it was a place of the greatest security, benefit, and conveniency to repose in, that could have been desired, and wished for; till upon a clear information, and observation of the King's condition, and the state of *England*, he should find an opportunity to Act; and the Prince himself seem'd to have the greatest aversion, and resolution against going into *France*, except in case of danger of surprisal by the Rebels, that could be imagined. In few days Mr *Progers*, who had been dispatched before (presently upon the Lord *Colepepper*'s coming) from *Paris* for *Silly*, being hinder'd by contrary Winds till he receiv'd the News of the Prince's being at *Jersey*, came thither, and brought this following Letter from her Majesty to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Cipher.

He was afterwards a servant to the Chancellor of the Exchequer
 & attended him in 1650 into Spain where he with Mr *Colington*
 went thither & embarked for the Hall where it made the happy
 to be concerned in the killing of *Richard* for which he was afterwards
 offered Death afterwards & was hewn in 1651. p. 370.

Paris the 5th of April 1646.

"My Lord Colepepper must witness for me that I have patiently and at large, heard all that he could say concerning the condition of *Silly*, and all that has been proposed for rendering of the Prince of *Wales* his abode there safe; yet I must confess to you, that I am so far from being satisfied in that point, that I shall not sleep in quiet until I shall hear that the Prince of *Wales* shall be removed from thence. It is confessed, it is not sufficiently fortified, and is accessible in divers places; and the Manning the Works will require a thousand Men more than you have, or, for ought I see, can procure; neither can you be confident, that the loss of *Cornwall* may not suddenly have a dangerous influence upon that *Garrison*; most of your Soldiers being of that Country. The power of the Parliament at Sea is so great, that you cannot rely upon the seasonable and safe conveyance of such proportions of Provisions, as so great a *Garrison* will require: I need not remember you of what Importance to the King, and all his Party, the safety of the Prince's Person is; If he should fall into the Rebels hands, the whole would thereby become desperate; therefore I must importunately conjure you to intend this work, as the principal service you can do to the King, Me, or the Prince. *Colepepper* will tell you how I have strain'd to assist you with present Provisions, Shipping, and Money, necessary for the Prince's remove to *Jersey*; where, be confident of it, he shall want nothing. Besides, for satisfaction of others, I have mov'd the Queen Regent to give assurance, that if the Prince, in his way to *Jersey*, should be necessitated, by contrary Winds, or the danger of the Parliament Shipping, to touch in *France*, he should have all freedom and assistance from hence, in his immediate passage thither; which is granted with great Chearfulness, and Civility, and will be Subscribed under the hands of the *French King* and Queen, my Brother, and Cardinal *Mazarin*: therefore I hope all scruples are now satisfied. *Colepepper* is hastening to you with good Frigates; but if you shall find any danger before their Arrival, I shall rely upon your care not to omit any opportunity to prevent that danger, according to the resolution in Council, which *Colepepper* hath acquainted me with; for which I thank you. I need not tell you how acceptable this service will be to the King, who in every Letter presses me to write to you concerning my Son's safety; nor that I am, and always will be, most constantly,

"Your assured Friend *Henriette Marie R.*

B 3

THE

THE Prince and Council were very glad at the receipt of this Letter, conceiving that they had now done all that could be required at their hands; though they were advertised at their first Landing there, that there was still an expectation of the Prince in *France*; and that he would be speedily importun'd from thence; which they could not believe; but as soon as the Lord *Colepepper* came, they plainly discern'd that Letter had been written upon advice to *Silly*, and upon foreseeing that an immediate Journey into *France* would not have been submitted to; and that the Instrument mention'd for his Highness's quiet and uninterrupted Passage through *France* to *Jersey*, was only a colour, the sooner to have invited the Prince to have Landed there, if there had been any accidents in his Passage; but that the resolution was, that he should not then have come to *Jersey*, as it was now, that he should quickly come from thence; to which purpose, shortly after, came most importunate Letters from the Queen; and it seems, howsoever all the late Letters from the King to the Prince before his coming out of *England*, were for his repair into *Denmark*, his Majesty, upon what reasons I know not, conceiv'd his Highness to be in *France*; for after his coming to *Jersey*, this following Letter was sent to him, by the Lord *Jermyns*, in whose Cipher it was writ, and Deciphered by his Lordship.

Oxford the 22^d of March.

Charles,

*A Letter
from the
King to the
Prince.*

"HOPING that this will find you safe with your Mother,
"I think fit to write this short but necessary Letter to you:
"Then know, that your being where you are, safe from the
"Power of the Rebels, is under God, either my greatest security, or my certain ruin. For your constancy to Religion, Obedience to me, and to the Rules of Honour, will make these Insolent Men begin to hearken to reason, when they shall see their Injustice not like to be crown'd with quiet; but, if you depart from those grounds for which I have all this time Fought, then your leaving this Kingdom will be (with too much probability) call'd sufficient proof for many of the slanders heretofore laid upon me: wherefore, once again, I command you upon my blessing to be constant to your Religion, neither hearkening to Roman Superstitions, nor the Seditious and Schismatical Doctrines of the Presbyterians and Independents; for, know that a persecuted Church is not thereby less pure, though less fortunate. For all other things, I command you to be totally directed by your Mother, and (as subordinate to her) by
"the

"the remainder of that Council which I put to you, at your
 "parting from hence: and so God bless you.

Charles R.

THIS Letter, and the very passionate Commands from the Queen, together with what was privately said to his Highness by the Lord *Colepepper*, who from his being at *Paris* had changed his former opinions, and was (though he express'd it tenderly; finding a general aversion) positive for his going, wrought so far on the Prince, that he discover'd an Inclination to the Journey; whereupon the Council presented at large to him, the Inconveniences and Dangers that naturally might be supposed would attend such a resolution: They remember'd, the Carriage of the *French* since the beginning of this Rebellion; how it had been originally fomented, and afterwards countenanced by them; and that they had never, in the least degree, assisted the King; that there was no Evidence that, at that time, they were more inclined to him than to the Rebels; that it would be necessary they should make some publick Declaration on his Majesty's behalf, before the Heir apparent of the Crown should put himself into their hands. There was nothing omitted that could be thought of, to render that resolution at least to be of that importance that it ought to be thoroughly weigh'd, and consider'd, before executed; and so, in the end they prevail'd with the Prince (since at that time it was not known where the King was) to send the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper* again to the Queen, to pre-^{sent to Paris,} ^{to dissuade} ^{the Queen} ^{from sending} ^{for the Prince} ^{into France.} sent the weightiness of the matter to her Majesty. One of their Instructions was as follows.

"You shall inform her Majesty, that We have, with all ^{their Instru-}
 "duty and submission, consider'd her Letters to Us concern-^{tion,} and
 "ing our speedy repair into the Kingdom of *France*; the ^{arrival at}
 "which direction, We conceive to be grounded upon her ^{Paris.}
 "Majesty's apprehension of danger to our Person by any re-
 "sistance here; the contrary whereof, We believe, her Ma-
 "jesty will be no sooner advertised of, than she will hold Us
 "excused for not giving that present obedience which We de-
 "fire always to yield to the least Intimation of her Majesty;
 "and therefore, you shall humbly acquaint her Majesty, that
 "We have great reason to believe this Island, to be defen-
 "sible against a greater Force, than We suppose probable to be
 "brought against it. That the Inhabitants of the Island ex-
 "press as much chearfulness, unanimity, and resolution for
 "the defence of our Person, by their whole carriage, and
 "particularly by a Protestation voluntarily undertaken by
 "them, as can be desired; and that, if, contrary to expecta-
 "tion, the Rebels should take the Island, We can from the
 "B 4 "Castle

“Castle (a place in it self of very great strength) with the least hazard remove our self to *France*; which in case of Imminent danger We resolve to do. That our security being thus stated, We beseech her Majesty to consider, whether it be not absolutely necessary, before any thought of our remove from hence be entertain’d, that We have as clear an information as may be got, of the condition of our Royal Father, and the Affections of *England*; of the Resolutions of the *Scots* in *England*, and the Strength of the Lord *Mountrose* in *Scotland*; of the Affairs in *Ireland*, and the conclusion of the Treaty there; that so, upon a full and mature prospect upon the Whole, We may so dispose of our Person as may be most for the benefit and advantage of our Royal Father; or patiently attend such an alteration and conjunction, as may administer a greater advantage than is yet offer’d; and whether our remove out of the Dominions of our Royal Father (except upon such a necessity, or apparent visible conveniency) may not have an Influence upon the Affections of the three Kingdoms to the di’advantage of his Majesty.

WITHIN two days after the two Lords were gone for *Paris*, *St Dudley Wyat* arriv’d with the News of the King’s being gone out of *Oxford*, before the break of day, only with two Servants, and to what place uncertain; it was believ’d by the Queen, as she said in her Letter to the Prince, that he was gone for *Ireland*, or to the *Scots*; and therefore her Majesty renew’d her Command for the Prince’s immediate repair into *France*; whereas the chief reason before was, that he would put himself into the *Scots* hands; and therefore it was necessary that his Highness should be in *France*, to go in the head of those Forces which should be immediately sent out of that Kingdom to assist his Majesty.

THE two Lords found the Queen much troubled, that the Prince himself came not; she declared her self “not to be moved with any reasons that were, or could be, given for his stay; and that her resolution was positive and unalterable: yet they prevail’d with her, to respite any positive Declaration till she might receive full advertisement of the King’s Condition; who was by this time known to be in the *Scottish* Army.

IT is remember’d before, that the Prince, upon his arrival at *Silly*, sent a Gentleman to *Ireland* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, as well that he might be punctually inform’d of the State of that Kingdom (of which there were several reports) as that he might receive from thence a Company or two of Foot, for the better Guard of that Island; which he foresaw would be necessary, whether he should remain there or not.

The

The Gentleman had a very quick passage to *Dublin*, and came thither very quickly after the Peace was agreed upon with the *Irish* Roman Catholicks, and found the Lord *Digby* there; who, after his Enterprize, and disbanding in *Scotland*, had first Transported himself into the Isle of *Man*, and from thence into *Ireland*; where he had been receiv'd, with great kindness and generosity, by the Marquis of *Ormond*, as a Man who had been in so eminent a Post in the King's Council and Affairs. He was a Person of so rare a composition by Nature and by Art (for Nature alone could never have reach'd to it) that he was so far from being ever dismay'd upon any Misfortune (and greater variety of Misfortunes never beset any Man) that he quickly recollected himself so vigorously, that he did really believe his condition to be improv'd by that ill accident; and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a new stock of Reputation, and Honour; and so he no sooner heard of the Prince's being in the Isle of *Silly*, and of his Condition, and the Condition of that place, than he presently concluded, that the Prince's presence in *Ireland* would settle and compose all the Factions there; reduce the Kingdom to his Majesty's Service; and oblige the Pope's Nuntio, who was an Enemy to the Peace, to quit his Ambitious designs. The Lord Lieutenant had so good an opinion of the Expedient, that he could have been very well contented, that when his Highness had been forced to leave *England* he had rather chosen to have made *Ireland* than *Silly* his retreat; but, being a Wise Man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehension of many contingencies which might encrease those difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice in a point of so great Importance; but, forthwith, having a Couple of Frigats ready, he caused an hundred Men with their Officers to be presently put on Board, according to his Highness's desire; and the Lord *Digby* (who always concluded, that That was fit to be done which his first thoughts suggested to him, and never doubted the Execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be Attempted) put himself on Board those Vessels; resolving, that upon the strength of his own reason, he should be able to persuade the Prince, and the Council which attended him, forthwith to quit *Silly*, and to repair to *Dublin*; which, he did not doubt, if brought to pass in that way, would have been grateful to the Lord Lieutenant. But, by the suddain remove of the Prince from *Silly*, the two Frigats from *Dublin* mist'd finding him there; and that Lord, whose Order they were obliged to observe, ^{The Lord} made all the hast he could to *Jersey*; where he found the Digby arrived as ^{Jersey from} Prince, with many other of his Friends who attended his Highness, the two Lords being gone but the day before to attend ^{Ireland.}

attend the Queen; he lost no time in informing his Highness of the happy state and condition of *Ireland*; that the Peace was concluded; and an Army of twelve thousand Men ready to be Transported into *England*; of the great Zeal, and Affection the Lord Lieutenant had for his Service; and that if his Highness would repair thither, he should find the whole Kingdom devoted to him; and thereupon positively advised him, without farther deliberation, to put himself aboard those Frigats; which were excellent Sailers, and fit for his secure Transportation.

THE Prince told him, "that it was a matter of greater Importance, than was fit to be executed upon so short deliberation; that he was no sooner arriv'd at *Jersey* than he receiv'd Letters from the Queen his Mother, requiring him forthwith to come to *Paris*, where all things were provided for his reception; that he had sent two of the Lords of the Council to the Queen, to excuse him for not giving ready Obedience to her Commands; and to assure her that he was in a place of unquestionable Security; in which he might safely expect to hear from the King his Father before he took any other resolution: That it would be very incongruous now to remove from thence, and to go into *Ireland*, before his Messenger's return from *Paris*; in which time, he might reasonably hope to hear from the King himself; and so wish'd him to have patience till the matter was more ripe for a determination. This reasonable Answer gave him no satisfaction; he commended the Prince's aversness from going into *France*; "which, he said, was the most pernicious Counsel that ever could be given; that it was a thing the King his Father abhor'd, and never would consent to; and that he would take upon himself to write to the Queen, and to give her such solid Advice and Reasons, that should infallibly convert Her from that desire, and that should abundantly satisfy Her that his going into *Ireland* was absolutely necessary; but that a little delay in the execution of it, might deprive Him of all the Fruit which was to be expected from that Journey; and therefore, renew'd his advice, and importunity, for losing no more time, but immediately to Embark; which when he saw was not like to prevail with his Highness, he repaired to one of those of the Privy Council, who attended the Prince, with whom he had a particular Friendship, and lamented to him the loss of such an occasion, which would inevitably restore the King; who would be equally ruin'd if the Prince went into *France*; of which he spoke with all the detestation imaginable; and said, "he was so far satisfied in his Conscience of the benefit that would redound from the one, and the ruin which would inevitably

"inevitably fall out by the other, that, he said, if the Person
"with whom he held this Conference, would concur with
"him, he would carry the Prince into *Ireland*, even without,
"and against his consent. The other Person answer'd, "that
"it was not to be attempted without his consent; nor could
"he imagine it possible to bring it to pass if they should both
"endeavour it. He replied, "that he would invite the Prince
"on Board the Frigate to a Collation; and that he knew well
"he could so commend the Vessels to him, that his own cu-
"riosity would easily invite him to a view of them; and that
"as soon as he was on Board, he would cause the Sails to be
"hoisted up, and make so stay till he came into *Ireland*.

THE other was very angry with him for entertaining such
"imaginations; and told him, "they neither agreed with his
"Wisdom nor his Duty; and left him in despair of his Con-
"junction, and, at the same time, of being able to compass it.
He had no sooner discharged himself of this imagination, but
in the instant (as he had a most pregnant fancy) he encoun-
ter'd another with the same vigour; and resolv'd, with all
possible expedition, to find himself at *Paris*, not making the
least Question but that he should convert the Queen from
any farther thought of sending for the Prince into *France*, and
as easily obtain Her consent and approbation for his repair-
ing into *Ireland*; and he made as little doubt, with the
Queen's help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with
France to send a good supply of Money by him into *Ireland*;
by which he should acquire a most universal Reputation, and
be the most welcome Man alive to the Lord Lieutenant: and
Transported with this happy Auguration, he left *Jersey*; leav-
ing at the same time his two Ships, and his Soldiers, and half
a dozen Gentlemen of Quality (who, upon his desire, and
many promises, had kept him Company from *Ireland*) with-
out one penny of Money to subsist on during his absence.

AS SOON as he came to *Paris*, and had seen the Queen
(whom he found very well inclin'd to do all she could for the
relief of *Ireland*, but resolute to have the Prince her Son im-
mediately with Her, notwithstanding all the Reasons press'd
against it by the Lords of the King's Council, who had been
sent from *Jersey*) He attended the Cardinal; who under-
stood him very well, and knew his Foible; and receiv'd him
with all the Ceremony, and Demonstration of Respect, he could
possibly express; enter'd upon the discourse of *England*; cele-
brated the part which he had Acted upon that Stage, in so many
Actions of Courage, and Sagacity, of the highest Prudence
and Circumspection, with an indefatigable Industry and Fide-
lity. He told him, "that *France* found too late their own Er-
"ror; that they had been very well content to see the King's
"great

Thence he
goes into
France.

His Trans-
actions there
with the
Queen of
England
and Cardinal
Mazarin.

“great Puissance weaken’d by his Domestick Troubles, which
 “they wish’d only should keep him from being able to hurt
 “his Neighbours; but that they never had desired to see him
 “at the Mercy of his own Rebels, which they saw now was
 “like to be the Case; and they were therefore resolv’d to
 “Wed his Interest in such a way and manner, as the Queen of
 “*England* should desire; in which he well knew how much
 “her Majesty would depend upon his Lordship’s Counsel.”

THE Cardinal said, “it was absolutely necessary, since the
 “Crown of *France* resolv’d to Wed the King’s Interest,
 “that the Person of the Prince of *Wales* should reside in
 “*France*; that the method he had thought of proceeding in,
 “was that the Queen of *England* should make choice of such
 “a Person, whom she thought best Affected, and best Quali-
 “fied for such an Employment, whom the King of *France*
 “would immediately send as his Extraordinary Embassadour
 “to the King and to the Parliament; that he should govern
 “himself wholly by such Instructions as the Queen should
 “give him; which, he knew, would be his Lordship’s work
 “to prepare; that all things should be made ready as soon as
 “the Queen would nominate the Embassadour; and that, upon
 “the arrival of the Prince of *Wales* in any part of *France*,
 “as soon as notice should be sent to the Court of it (for which
 “due preparation should be made) the Embassadour should
 “be in the same manner dispatched for *England*, with one
 “only Instruction from *France*; which should be, That he
 “should demand a speedy Answer from the Parliament, whether
 “they would satisfy the demands the *French* Court had made?
 “which if they should refuse to do, he should forthwith, in
 “the King his Master’s name, declare War against them, and
 “immediately leave the Kingdom; and return Home; and
 “then there should be quickly such an Army ready, as was
 “worthy for the Prince of *Wales* to venture his own Person
 “in; and that he should have the honour to Redeem and Re-
 “store his Father.

THIS discourse ended, the Lord Digby wanted not Lan-
 guage to extol the Generosity and the Magnanimity of the re-
 solution, and to pay the Cardinal all his Compliments in his
 own Coin, and, from thence, to enter upon the Condition of
Ireland; in which the Cardinal presently interrupted him, and
 told him, “he knew well he was come from thence, and
 “meant to return thither, and likewise the Carriage of the
 “Nuntio. That the Marquis of *Ormond* was too brave a Gen-
 “tleman, and had merited too much of his Master to be de-
 “serted, and *France* was resolv’d not to do his business by halves,
 “but to give the King’s Affairs an entire relief in all Places;
 “that he should carry a good Supply of Money with him into
 “*Ireland*,

"*Ireland*, and that Arms and Ammunition should be speedily sent after him, and such direction to their Agent there, as should draw off all the *Irish* from the Nuncio, who had not entirely given themselves up to the *Spanish* Interest.

THE noble Person had that which he most desired; he was presently converted, and undertook to the Queen, that he would presently convert all at *Jersey*; and that the Prince should obey all her Commands; and enter'd into consultation with her upon the Election of an Embassadour, and what Instructions should be given him; which he took upon himself to prepare. Monsieur *Ballivore* was named by the Queen, whom the Cardinal had design'd for that Office. The Cardinal approv'd the Instructions, and caused six thousand Pistols to be paid to him, who was to go to *Ireland*; and though it was a much less Sum than he had promised himself, from the magnificent Expressions the Cardinal had us'd to him, yet it provided well for his own occasions; so he left the Queen with his usual professions, and confidence, and accompanied those Lords to *Jersey*, who were to attend upon his Highness with her Majesty's Orders for the Prince's repair into *France*; for the Advancement whereof the Cardinal was so sollicitous, that he writ a Letter to the old Prince of *Condé* (which he knew he would forthwith send to the Queen; as he did) in which he said, "that he had receiv'd very certain Advertisment out of *England*, that there were some Persons about the Prince of *Wales* in *Jersey*, who had undertaken to deliver his Highness up into the hands of the Parliament for twenty thousand Pistols; and this Letter was forthwith sent by the Queen to overtake the Lords, that it might be shewed to the Prince; and that they who attended upon him, might discern, what would be thought of them, if they dissuaded his Highness from giving a present obedience to his Mother's Commands.

AS SOON as they came to *Jersey*, the Lord *Digby* us'd all the means he could to persuade his Friend to concur in his advice for the Prince's immediate repair into *France*. He told him all that had pass'd between the Cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the Expressions of the high value his Eminence had of his particular Person: "That an Embassadour was chosen by his advice, and his Instructions drawn by him, from no part of which the Embassadour durst swerve (and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time, that he himself had nominated the Embassadour; and that his Instructions would be exactly observ'd by him; so great a Power he had always over himself, that he could believe any thing which was grateful to him) "That a War would be presently proclaimed upon their refusal to do what
" the

"the Embassadour required, and that there wanted nothing
 "to the expediting this great Affair, but the Prince's sepa-
 "ring into *France* without farther delay; there being no other
 "question concerning that matter, than whether his Highness
 "should stay in *Jersey*? where there could be no question of
 "his Security, until he could receive express direction from
 "the King his Father; and therefore he conjured his Friend
 "to concur in that advice; which would be very grateful to
 "the Queen, and be attended with much benefit to himself;
 "telling him "how kind her Majesty was to him, and how
 "confident she was of his Service, and that if he should be of
 "another opinion, it would not hinder the Prince from go-
 "ing; who, he knew, was resolv'd to obey his Mother; and
 "so concluded his Discourse, with those Arguments which he
 "thought were like to make most impression on him; and
 "gave him the Instructions by which the Embassadour was to
 "be guided.

His Friend, who in truth lov'd him very heartily, though
 no Man better knew his Infirmitie, told him, "whatever
 "the Prince would be disposed to do, he could not change his
 "opinion in point of Counsel, until the King's pleasure might
 "be known: he put him in mind, "how he had been before
 "deceiv'd at *Oxford* by the *Comte de Harcourt*, who was an
 "Embassadour likewise, as We then thought, named by our
 "selves, and whose Instructions he had likewise drawn; and
 "yet, he could not but well remember how foolish that busi-
 "ness had been managed, and how disobligingly He himself
 "had been treated by that Embassadour; and therefore he
 "could not but wonder, that the same Artifices should again
 "prevail with him; and that he could imagine that the Instru-
 "ctions he had drawn, would be at all consider'd, or pursued,
 "farther than they might contribute to what the Cardinal for
 "the present design'd; of the integrity whereof, they had no
 "Evidence, but had reason enough to suspect it.

THE Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Colepeper*, stay'd at *Paris*
 with the Queen full three Weeks; having only prevail'd
 with her to suspend her present Commands for the Prince's
 remove from *Jersey*, until she should have clear Intelligence
 where the King was; and how he was treated, though she de-
 clared a positive resolution that his Highness should come to
Paris, let the Intelligence be what it could be; and, in the
 end, they were well assur'd that his Majesty had put himself
 into the *Scottish* Army as it lay before *Newark*; and that, as soon
 as he came thither, he had caus'd that Garrison to deliver the
 Town into the hands of the *Scots*; and that thereupon the
~~Scots~~ marched presently away to *New-Castle*: That they had
 press'd the King to do many things, which he had absolutely
 refused

refused to do ; and that thereupon they had put very strict Guards upon his Majesty, and would not permit any Man to repair to him, or to speak with him ; so that his Majesty look'd upon himself as a Prisoner, and resolv'd to make another Escape from them as soon as he could. Mr *Albournham*, who attended upon him in his Journey from *Oxford* as his sole Servant, was forbid to come any more near him ; and if he had not put himself on board a Vessel, then at *New-Castle*, and bound for *France*, the *Scots* would have deliver'd him up to the Parliament. Monsieur *Montrevil*, the *French* Envoy, pretended that they were so incens'd against him for briskly expostulating with them for their ill Treatment of the King, that it was no longer safe for him to remain in their Quarters, and more dangerous to return to *London* ; and therefore, he had likewise procured a *Dutch* Ship to land him in *France*, and was come to *Paris* before the Lords return'd to *Jersey*.

THE Queen thought now she had more reason to be confirm'd in her former resolution for the speedy remove of the Prince, and it was pretended that he had brought a Letter from the King, which was Decipher'd by the Lord *Jermyn* ; in which, he said, " that he did believe that the Prince could not be safe any where but with the Queen ; and therefore wished, that if he were not there already, he should be speedily sent for ; and *Montrevil* profess'd to have a Message by word of mouth to the same purpose ; whereas Mr *Albournham*, who left the King but the day before *Montrevil*, and was as entirely trusted by the King as any Man in *England*, brought no such Message ; and confess'd to the Lord *Capel*, " that he thought it very pernicious to the King that the Prince should come into *France* in that conjuncture, and before it was known how the *Scots* would deal with him ; and that the King's opinion of the convenience of his coming into *France*, " could proceed from nothing but the thought of his insecurity in *Jersey*. The Lord *Capel* offer'd to undertake a Journey himself to *New-Castle*, and to receive the King's positive Commands, which he was confident would be submitted to, and obeyed by all the Council as well as by himself ; but the Queen was positive, that, without any more delay, the Prince should immediately repair to Her ; and, to that purpose, She sent the Lord *Jermyn* (who was Governour of *Jersey*) together with the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Westworth*, the Lord *Whitmore*, and the other Lords and Gentlemen, who, with the two Lords who had been sent to her by the Prince, should make haste to *Jersey* to see her Commands executed. Whilst they are upon their Journey thither, it will be seasonable to enquire how the King came to involve himself in that perplexity, out of which he was never able afterwards to recover his Liberty and Freedom.

MON-

*A farther
Account of
Monsieur
Montrevil
his Negotia-
tion with the
Scots.*

MONSIEUR *Montrevil* was a Person utterly unknown to me; nor had I ever intercourse or correspondence with him; so that what I shall say of him cannot proceed from affection or prejudice, nor if I shall say any thing for his vindication from those reproaches which he did, and does lie under, both with the *English* and *Scotish* Nation, countenanced enough by the discountenance he receiv'd from the Cardinal after his return, when he was, after the first account he had given of his Negotiation, restrain'd from coming to the Court, and forbid to remain in *Paris*, and lay under a form'd, declar'd dislike till his death; which with-grief of mind shortly ensued. But as it is no unusual hard-heartedness in such chief Ministers, to sacrifice such Instruments, how innocent soever, to their own dark purposes, so it is probable, that temporary Cloud would soon have vanished, and that it was only cast over him, that he might be thereby secluded from the conversation of the *English* Court; which must have been reasonably very inquisitive, and might thereby have discover'd somewhat which the other Court was carefully to conceal: I say if what I here set down of that Transaction, shall appear some vindication of that Gentleman from those imputations under which his memory remains blasted, it can be imputed only to the love of truth, which ought, in common honesty, to be preserv'd in History as the very Soul of it, towards all Persons who come to be mention'd in it; and since I have in my hands all the original Letters which passed from him to the King, and the King's Answers and Directions thereupon, or such Authentick Copies thereof, as have been by my self examin'd with the Originals, I take it to be a duty incumbent on me to clear him from any guilt with which his memory lies unjustly charged, and to make a candid interpretation of those Actions, which appear to have resulted from ingenuity, and upright Intentions, how unsuccessful soever.

He was then a young Gentleman of parts very equal to the Trust the Cardinal repos'd in him, and to the Employment he gave him; and of a Nature not inclined to be made use of in ordinary dissimulation and couzenage. Whilst he took his Measures only from the *Scotish* Commissioners at *London*, and from those Presbyterians whom he had opportunity to converse with there, he did not give the King the least Encouragement to expect a conjunction, or any compliance from the one or the other, upon any Cheaper price of condition than the whole alteration of the Government of the Church by Bishops, and an entire Conformity to the Covenant; and he us'd all the Arguments which occur'd to him, to persuade his Majesty that all other hopes of Agreement with them were desperate; and when he saw his Majesty un-
moveable

movable in that particular, and resolute to undergo the utmost event of War, before he would wound his Peace of Mind, and Conscience, with such an odious concession, he undertook that Journey we mention'd in the end of the last Year, to discover whether the same rude and rigid Spirit, which Govern'd those Commissioners at *Westminster*, possessed also the Chief Officers of the *Scottish* Army, and that Committee of State that always remain'd with the Army.

THE *Scottish* Army was then before *Newark*; and, in his passage thither, he waited upon the King at *Oxford*; and was confirm'd in what he had reason before to be confident of, that it was absolutely impossible ever to prevail with his Majesty to give up the Church to the most impetuous Demands they could make, or to the greatest necessity himself could be environ'd with; but as to any other concessions which might satisfy their Ambition or their Profit, which were always Powerful and Irresistible Spells upon that Party, he had ample Authority and Commission to comply with the most extravagant Demands from Persons like to make good what they undertook, except such Propositions as might be mischievous to the Marquis of *Montrose*; whom the King resolv'd never to desert, nor any who had joyn'd with and assisted him; all which, he desir'd to unite to those who might now be perswaded to serve him. His Majesty, for his better information, recommended him to some Persons who had then Command in the *Scottish* Army; of whose Affections and Inclinations to his Service, he had as much confidence, at least, as he ought to have; and of their Credit, and Courage, and Interest, a greater than was due to them.

WHEN *Montrevil* came to the Army, and after he had endeavour'd to undeceive those who had been perswaded to believe, that a peremptory and obstinate insisting upon the alteration of the Church Government (the expectation, and assurance whereof, had indeed first enabled them to make that Expedition) would at last prevail over the King's Spirit, as it had done in *Scotland*, he found those in whom the Power, at least the Command of the Army was, much more moderate than he expected, and the Committee which presided in the Councils, rather devising and projecting Expedients how they might recede from the rigour of their former Demands, than peremptory to adhere to them, and willing he should believe that they stay'd for the coming of the Lord Chancellor out of *Scotland*, who was daily expected, before they would declare their Resolution; not that they were, for the present, without one. They were very much pleased that the King offer'd, and desir'd to come to them, and remain in the Army with them, if he might be secured of a good reception

for Himself, and for his Servants who should attend him, and his Friends who should resort to him; and the principal Officers of the Army spoke of that, as a thing they so much wished, that it could be in no body's Power to hinder it, if there were any who would attempt it; and they who had the greatest Power in the Conduct of the most secret Counsels, took pains to be thought to have much franker Resolutions in that particular, than they thought yet seasonable to express in direct Undertakings; and employed those who were known to be most entirely trusted by them, and some of those who had been recommended to him by the King, to assure him that he might confidently advise his Majesty to repair to the Army, upon the Terms himself had propos'd; and that they would send a good Body of their Horse, to meet his Majesty at any place he should appoint to Conduct him in Safety to them. Upon which encouragement *Montrevil* prepared a Paper to be sign'd by himself, and sent to the King as his Engagement; and shew'd it to those who had been most clear to him in their Expressions of duty to the King; which, being approv'd by them, he sent by the other who had appear'd to him to be trusted by those who were in the highest Trust to be communicated to them, who had in a manner excused themselves for being so reserv'd towards him, as being necessary in that conjuncture of their Affairs, when there evidently appear'd to be the most Hostile jealousy between the Independent Army and them. When the Paper was likewise return'd to him with approbation after their perusal, he sent it to the King; which Paper is here faithfully Translated out of the Original.

*The Paper
Montrevil
sent to the
King, being
a promise
for the Scots
receiving the
King A-
pril 1.*

"I do promise in the Name of the King and Queen Regent (my Master and Mistress) and by virtue of the Powers that I have from their Majesties, That if the King of Great Britain shall put himself into the *Scottish* Army, he shall be there receiv'd as their Natural Sovereign; and that he shall be with them in all freedom of his Conscience and Honour; and that all such of his Subjects and Servants as shall be there with him, shall be safely and honourably protected in their Persons; and that the said *Scots*, shall really and effectually joyn with the said King of Great Britain; and also receive all such Persons as shall come in unto him, and joyn with them for his Majesty's Preservation: And that they shall protect all his Majesty's Party to the utmost of their Power, as his Majesty will Command all those under his obedience to do the like to them; and that they shall employ all their Armies and Forces, to assist his Majesty in the procuring of a happy and well grounded Peace, for the good
" of

"of his Majesty and his said Kingdoms, and in recovery of
 "his Majesty's just Rights. In witness whereof I have here-
 "unto put my Hand and Seal this first of April 1646.

De Montrevil, Resident pour sa Majesté très Chrétienne en Ecosse.

MANY days had not passed after the sending that Express, when he found such Chagrin, and Tergiversation, in some of those he had treated with, one Man denying what he had said to himself, and another disclaiming the having given such a Man Authority to say that from him which the other still avow'd he had done, that *Montrevil* thought himself obliged, with all speed, to advertise his Majesty of the foul change, and to dissuade him from venturing his Person in the Power of such Men; but the Express who carried that Letter, was taken Prisoner; and though he made his Escape, and preserv'd his Letter, he could not proceed in his Journey; and was compell'd to return to him who sent him; and by that time, he having inform'd the Committee, what he had done to vindicate himself from being made a Property by them to betray the King, and expressed a deep resentment of the injury done to the King his Master, and to himself, in their receding from what they had promised, they appear'd again to be of another Temper, and very much to desire his Majesty's Presence in the Army; and to that purpose, they promised, as an unanimous Resolution, "that they would send a considerable party "of Horse to meet his Majesty at *Burton upon Trent*; for that "they could not advance farther with the whole party; but "that some Horse should be sent to wait upon his Majesty at "*Besworth*, which is the middle way between *Burton* and "*Harborough*, whither they hoped his own Horse would be "able to convey him securely; they desired "the King to "appoint the day, and they would not fail to be there. They wished, "that when their Troops should meet his Majesty, "he would tell them that he was going into *Scotland*; upon "which, they would find themselves obliged to attend him "into their Army, without being able to discover any thing "of a Treaty; of which, the Parliament ought yet to receive "no Advertisement: of all which *Montrevil* gave the King a very full and plain Narration, together with what he had written before, by his Letter of the 15th of the same *April*, to Secretary *Nicholas*; and, in the same Letter, he inform'd his Majesty, "that they did not desire that any of those Forces "which had follow'd the King's Party, should joyn with "them, no nor so much as those Horse that should have accompanied his Majesty, should remain in their Army with "him: That they had with much ado agreed, that the two "*Princes* (for his Majesty, upon Prince *Rupert's* humble sub-

mission, was reconciled to both his Nephews) " might follow
 " the King, with such other of his Servants as were not ex-
 " cepted from pardon; and that they might stay with his Ma-
 " jesty until the Parliament of *England* should demand them;
 " in which case they should not refuse to deliver them; but
 " that they would first furnish them with some means of get-
 " ting beyond Seas.

THE King had propos'd, " that there might be a Union
 " between them and the Marquis of *Montrose*; and that his
 " Forces might be joyn'd with their Army; which they had
 " said, " they could not consent to, with reference to the per-
 " son of *Montrose*; who, after so much blood spilt by him of
 " many of the greatest Families, they thought could not be
 " safe among them: whereupon the King had declared, that
 " he would send him his Extraordinary Embassadour into
 " *France*; which they appear'd not to contradict, but had now
 " changed their mind; of which *Montrevil* likewise gave an
 " Account in the same Letter: That they could not give their
 " consent that the Marquis of *Montrose* should go Embassa-
 " dour into *France*, but into any other place, he might; and
 " that they again, without limiting the time, insisted upon
 " settling the Presbyterian Government; and he concluded
 " his Letter with these words, " I will say no more but this,
 " that his Majesty and You know the *Scots* better than I do;
 " I represent these things nakedly to you, as I am obliged to
 " do; I have not taken upon me the boldness to give any
 " Counsel to his Majesty; yet if he hath any other refuge, or
 " means to make better conditions, I think he ought not to
 " accept of these; but if he sees all things desperate every
 " where else, and that he and his Servants cannot be secure
 " with his Parliament of *England*, I dare yet assure him, that
 " though He and his Servants may not be here with all that
 " satisfaction perhaps which he might desire, yet He especially
 " shall be as secure as possible.

IN another Letter dated the next day after (the 16th of
April) to the same Secretary, he hath these words; " I have
 " Orders from the Deputies of *Scotland* to assure you, that they
 " will not herein fail (which related to sending the Horse to
 " meet his Majesty) " as soon as they shall know his day; and
 " that the King shall be receiv'd into the Army as hath been
 " promised; and that his Conscience shall not be forced. And
 " in the last Letter, which his Majesty or the Secretary receiv'd
 " from him, and which was dated the 20th of *April* 1646, there
 " are these words, " They tell me that they will do more than
 " can be express'd; but let not his Majesty hope for any more
 " than I send him word of; that he may not be deceiv'd; and
 " let him take his measures aright; for certainly the Enter-
 " prise

"prize is full of danger: yet, in the same Letter, he says "the disposition of the Chiefs of the *Scotish* Army is such as "the King can desire; they begin to draw off their Troops "towards *Barton*, and the hindering his Majesty from falling "into the hands of the *English* is of so great Importance to "them, that it cannot be believ'd but that they will do all "that lies in their Power to hinder it.

THIS was the proceeding of Monsieur *Montrevil* in that whole Transaction; and if he were too Sanguine upon his first Conversation with the Officers of the *Scotish* Army, and some of the Committee, and when he sign'd that Engagement upon the first of *April*, he made hast to retract that confidence, and was in all his Dispatches afterwards Phlegmatick enough; and, after his Majesty had put himself into their hands, he did honestly and stoutly charge all the particular Persons with the Promises and Engagements they had given to him, and did all he could to make the Cardinal sensible of the Indignity that was offer'd to that Crown in the violation of those Promises, and Engagements; which was the reason of his being Commanded to return Home, as soon as the King came to *New-Castle*; lest his too keen resentment might irritate the *Scots*, and make it appear to the Parliament how far *France* was engaged in that whole Negotiation; which the Cardinal had no mind should appear to the World; and there can be no doubt, but that the Cautions and Assumptions which the King receiv'd from *Montrevil* after his Engagement, would have diverted him from that Enterprize, if his Majesty had discern'd any other course to take that had been preferable even to the hazard that he saw he must undergo with the *Scots*; but he was clearly destitute of any other Refuge. Every day brought the News of the loss of some Garrison; and as *Oxford* was already blocked up at a distance, by those Horse which *Fairfax* had sent out of the West to that purpose, or to wait upon the King, and follow him close, if he should remove out of *Oxford*; so he had soon reduced *Exeter*, and some other Garrisons in *Devon-shire*. The Governours then, when there was no visible and apparent hope of being Reliev'd, thought that they might deliver up their Garrisons before they were press'd with the last Extremities, that they might obtain the better Conditions; and yet it was observ'd that better and more honourable Conditions were not given to any, than to those who kept the Places they were trusted with, till they had not one day's Victual left; of which We shall observe more hereafter. By this means *Fairfax* was within three days of *Oxford* before the King left it, or fully resolv'd what to do.

His Majesty had before sent to two Eminent Commanders
C 3 of

of Name, who had block'd up the Town at a distance, "that if they would pass their words (how slender a security soever, from such Men who had broken so many Oaths, for the Safety of the King) "that they would immediately Conduct him to the Parliament, he would have put himself in- "to their hands; for he was yet perswaded to think so well of the City of *London*, that he would not have been unwilling to have found himself there; but those Officers would submit to no such Engagements; and great care was taken to have strict Guards round about *London*, that he might not get thither. What should the King do? There was one thing most formidable to him, which he was resolv'd to avoid, that was, to be inclosed in *Oxford*, and so to be given up, or taken, when the Town should be Surrender'd, as a Prisoner to the Independents Army; which he was advertised from all hands, would treat him very Barbarously.

The King
leaves Ox-
ford Apr.
27. 1646.

IN this perplexity, he chose rather to commit himself to the *Scotish* Army; which yet he did not trust so far as to give them notice of his Journey, by sending for a Party of their Horse to meet him, as they had profer'd; but early in the Morning, upon the 27th day of *April*, he went out of *Oxford*, attended only by *John Alburnham*, and a Divine (one *Had-son*) who understood the By-ways as well as the Common, and was indeed a very skilful Guide. In this Equipage he left *Oxford* on a *Monday*, leaving those of his Council in *Oxford* who were privy to his going out, not inform'd whether he would go to the *Scotish* Army, or get privately into *London*, and lye there concealed, till he might choose that which was best; and it was generally believ'd, that he had not within himself at that time a fixt Resolution what he would do; which was the more Credited because it was nine days after his leaving *Oxford*, before it was known where the King was; insomuch as *Fairfax*, who came before it the fifth day after his Majesty was gone, was sore down, and had made his Circumvallation about *Oxford*, before he knew that the King was in the *Scotish* Army; but the King had wasted that time in several Places; whereof some were Gentlemens Houses (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of) purposely to be inform'd of the condition of the Marquis of *Montrose*, and to find some secure passage that he might get to him; which he did exceedingly desire; but in the end, went into the *Scotish* Army before *Newark*, and sent for *Montrevil* to come to him.

Puts himself
into the
Scotish Ar-
my before
Newark.

IT was very early in the Morning when the King went to the General's Lodging, and discover'd himself to him; who either was, or seem'd to be, exceedingly surpris'd, and confounded at his Majesty's presence; and knew not what to say; but presently gave notice of it to the Committee, who were

no

no less perplexed. An Express was presently sent to the Parliament at *Westminster*, to inform them of the unexpected News, as a thing the *Scots* had not the least imagination of. The Parliament were so disorder'd with the Intelligence, that at first they resolv'd to Command their General to raise the Siege before *Oxford*, and to march with all Expedition to *Newark*; but the *Scotish* Commissioners at *London*, diverted them from that, by assuring them "that all their Orders would meet with an absolute Obedience in their Army; so they made a short dispatch to them, in which it was evident that they believ'd the King had gone to them by Invitation, and not out of his own free Choice; and implying, "that they should shortly receive farther direction from them; and in the mean time, "that they should carefully watch that his Majesty did not dispose himself to some whither else. The great care in the Army, was, that there might be only respect and good manners shew'd towards the King, without any thing of affection or dependence; and therefore the General never asked the Word of him, or any Orders, nor, willingly, suffer'd the Officers of the Army to resort to, or to have any discourse with his Majesty. *Montreuil* was ill look'd upon, as the Man who had brought this inconvenience upon them without their consent; but he was not frighted from owning and declaring what had pass'd between them, what they had promised, and what they were engag'd to do. However, though the King liked not the treatment he receiv'd, he was not without apprehension, that *Fairfax* might be forthwith appointed to decline all other Enterprises, and to bring himself near the *Scotish* Army, they being too near together already; and therefore he forthwith gave order to the Lord *Bel- lasis* to Surrender *Newark*, that the *Scots* might march Northward; which they resolv'd to do; and he giving up that place, which he could have defended for some Months longer from that Enemy, upon honourable Conditions, that Army with great Expedition marched towards *New-Castle*; which the King was glad of, though their behaviour to him was still the same; and great strictness used that he might not confer with any Man who was not well known to them, much less receive Letters from any.

Their man-
ner of treat-
ing his Ma-
jesty.

The King or-
ders New-
ark to be
surrender'd;
whereupon
the Scot-
ish Army
marches
Northward
with the
King to
New Castle

It was an observation in that time, that the first publishing of extraordinary News was from the Pulpit; and by the Preacher's Text, and his manner of discourse upon it, the Auditors might judge, and commonly foresaw, what was like to be next done in the Parliament or Council of State. The first Sermon that was Preach'd before the King, after the Army rose from *Newark* to march Northwards, was upon the 19th Chap. of the II. Book of *Samuel*, the 41, 42, and 43. verses.

C 4

41. And

41. *And behold, all the Men of Israel came to the King, and said unto the King, Why have our Brethren the Men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought the King and his Household, and all David's Men with him over Jordan?*
42. *And all the Men of Judah answered the Men of Israel, Because the King is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the King's cost? or hath he given us any gift?*
43. *And the Men of Israel answered the Men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the King, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did ye despise us that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our King? And the words of the Men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the Men of Israel.*

UPON which words, the Preacher gave Men cause to believe, that now they had gotten their King they resolv'd to keep him, and to adhere to him. But his Majesty came no sooner to *New-Castle*, than both *Monfieur Montrevil* was restrain'd from having any conference with him, and *Mr Asburnham* was advis'd "to shift for himself, or else that he should be deliver'd up to the Parliament; and both the one, and the other, were come to *Paris* when the Queen sent those Lords to hasten the Prince's remove from *Jersey*.

WHEN those Lords, with their great Train, came to *Jersey*, which was towards the end of *June*, they brought with them a Letter from the Queen to the Prince; in which she told him, "that she was now fully satisfied, from the Intelligence she had from *New-Castle* and *London*, that he could not make any longer residence in *Jersey* without apparent danger of falling into the Enemies hands; and that if he should continue there, all possible attempts would be suddainly made, as well by Treachery as by Force, to get his Person into their Power; and therefore, her Majesty did positively require him, to give immediate Obedience to the King's Commands, mention'd in the Letter which he had lately sent by *Sr Dudley Wyatt* (which is set out before) "and reiterated in a Letter which she had since receiv'd from the King by *Monfieur Montrevil*. Her Majesty said, "that she had the greatest assurance from the Crown of *France*, that possibly could be given, for his honourable reception, and full liberty to continue there, and to depart from thence, at his pleasure; and she engaged her own word; that whenever his Council should find it fit for him to go out of *France*, she would never oppose it; and that during his residence in that Kingdom, all matters of Importance which might concern him-

"self,

The Lord Jermyn and other Lords arrive at Jersey, about the end of June, from the Queen, to bring the Prince into France.

"self, or relate to his Majesty's Affairs, should be debated and
 "resolv'd by himself and the Council, in such manner as they
 "ought to have been, if he had continued in *England*, or in
 "*Jersey* : and concluded, "that he should make all possible
 "hast to her.

THE Lords which arriv'd with this dispatch from her Majesty, had no imagination that there would have been any question of his Highness's compliance with the Queen's Command; and therefore, as soon as they had kiss'd the Prince's hand, which was in the Afternoon, they desired that the Council might presently be called; and when they came together, the Lords *Jermyn*, *Digby*, and *Wentworth*, being likewise present, and sitting in the Council, they desired the Prince that his Mother's Letter might be read; and then, since they conceiv'd there could be no debate upon his Highness's yielding Obedience to the Command of the King and Queen, that they might only consider of the day when he might begin his Journey, and of the order he would observe in it. The Lords of the Council represented to the Prince, that they were the only Persons that were accountable to the King, and to the Kingdom, for any resolution his Highness should take, and for the Consequence thereof; and that the other Lords who were present, had no Title to deliver their advice, or to be present at the debate, they being in no degree responsible for what his Highness should resolve to do; and therefore desired that the whole matter might be debated; the State of the King's present Condition understood as far as it might be; and the Reasons consider'd which made it Counsellable for his Highness to repair into *France*, and what might be said against it; and the rather, because it was very notorious that the King had given no positive direction in the Point, but upon a Supposition that the Prince could not remain secure in *Jersey*; which was likewise the ground of the Queen's last Command; and which they believ'd had no Foundation of Reason; and that his Residence there might be very unquestionably safe. This begot some warmth, and contradiction between Persons; in so much as the Prince thought it very necessary to suspend the debate till the next day, to the end that by several and private Conferences together between the Lords who came from *Paris*, and those who were in *Jersey*, they might convert, or confirm each other in the same opinions; at least that the next debate might be free from Passion and Unkindness; and so the Council rose, and the several Lords betook themselves to use the same Arguments, or such as they thought more agreeable to the several Persons, as the Lord *Digby* had before done to his Friend, and with the same success.

THE

*Debate in
the Prince's
Council con-
cerning his
going.*

The Lord Capel delivers his opinion against it.

THE next day when they were called together, the Lord Capel gave an account of all that had pass'd with the Queen from the time that the Lord Colepepper and he came thither; and "that the reasons they had carried from the Prince, had so far prevailed with the Queen, that her Majesty resolv'd "to take no final resolution till she receiv'd farther Advancement of the King's pleasure; and he did not think that "the information she had receiv'd from Monsieur Montrevil, "had weight enough to produce the quick resolution it had "done: that he thought it still most absolutely necessary, to "receive the King's positive Command before the Prince "should remove out of his Majesty's own Dominions; there "being no shadow of cause to suspect his security there: That "he had then offer'd to the Queen, that he would himself "make a Journey to *New-Castle* to receive his Majesty's "Commands; and that he now made the same offer to the "Prince; and because it did appear that his Majesty was very "strictly guarded, and that Persons did not easily find access "to him, and that his own Person might be seised upon in "his Journey thither, or his stay there, or his return back, "and so his Highness might be disappointed of the information he expected, and remain still in the same uncertainty "as to a resolution, he did propose, and consent to, as his "opinion, that if he did not return again to *Jersy* within the "space of one Month, the Prince should resolve to remove "into *France*, if in the mean time such preparatories were "made there, as he thought were necessary, and were yet "defective.

He said, "he had been lately at *Paris* by the Prince's "Command; and had receiv'd many Graces from the Queen, "who had vouchsafed to impart all her own Reasons for the "Prince's remove, and the grounds for the confidence she "had of the Affections of *France*; but, that he did still wonder, if the Court of *France* had so great a desire, as was "pretended, that the Prince of *Wales* should repair thither, "that in the two Months time his Highness had been in *Jersy*, they had never sent a Gentleman to see him, and to invite him to come thither; nor had these who came now "from the Queen, brought so much as a Pass for him to come "into *France*: That he could not but observe, that all We had "hitherto propos'd to our selves from *France*, had proved in "no degree answerable to our expectations; as the five thousand Foot, which We had expected in the West before the "Prince came from thence; and that We had more reason to "be jealous now than ever, since it had been by the advice "of *France*, that the King had now put himself into the hands "of the *Scots*; and therefore We ought to be the more watch-

"ful

“ful in the disposing the Person of the Prince by their advice likewise. He concluded, “that he could not give his advice, or consent, that the Prince should repair into *France*, “till the King’s pleasure might be known, or such other circumstances might be provided in *France*, as had been hitherto neglected.

THE Lord *Digby* and the Lord *Jermyn* wonder’d very much, “that there should be any doubt of the Affections of *France*, or that it should be believ’d that the Queen could “be deceiv’d, or not well enough inform’d in that particular : They related many particulars which had passed between the Cardinal and them in private Conferences, and the great professions of Affection he made to the King. They said, “that “the Embassadour who was now appointed to go thither, was “chosen by the Queen her self, and had no other Instructions “but what she had given him ; and that he was not to stay “there above a Month ; at the end of which he was to denounce War against the Parliament, if they did not comply “with such Propositions as he made ; and so to return ; and “then, that there should be an Army of thirty thousand Men “immediately Transported into *England*, with the Prince of “*Wales* in the head of them ; that the Embassadour was already gone from *Paris*, but was not to Embark till he should “first receive Advertisement that the Prince of *Wales* was “Landed in *France* ; for that *France* had no reason to interest themselves so far in the King’s Quarrel, if the Prince of “*Wales* should refuse to venture his Person with them ; or, it “may be, engage against them upon another Interest.

THEY therefore besought the Prince, and the Lords “that they would consider well, whether he would disappoint his “Father and Himself of so great Fruit as they were even ready to Gather, and of which they could not be disappointed “but by unseasonable Jealousies of the Integrity of *France*, “and by delaying to give them satisfaction in the remove of “the Prince from *Jersey*.

THESE Arguments press’d with all the assurance imaginable, by Persons of that near Trust and Confidence with the King, who were not like to be deceiv’d Themselves, nor to have any purpose to deceive the Prince, wrought so far with his Highness, that he declared “he would comply with the “Commands of the Queen, and forthwith remove into *France* ; which being resolv’d, he wish’d “there might be no more “debate upon that point, but that they would all prepare to “go with him, and that there might be as great an Unity in “their Counsels, as had hitherto always been.

THIS so positive Declaration of the Prince of his own Resolution, made all farther Arguments against it not only useless

*All but one
of his Coun-
cil dissent,
and stay be-
hind.*

less but indecent; and therefore they replied not to that Point, yet every Man of the Council, the Lord *Colepepper* only excepted, besought his Highness "that he would give them his Pardon, if they did not farther wait upon him; for they "conceiv'd their Commission to be now at an end; and that "they could not assume any Authority by it to themselves, if "they waited upon him into *France*; nor expect that their "Counsels there should be hearken'd unto, when they were "now rejected. And so, after some sharp replies between the Lords of different Judgements, which made the Council break up the sooner, they who resolv'd not to go into *France* took their leaves of the Prince, and kiss'd his hand; his Highness then declaring, "that he would be gone the next day by five "of the Clock in the Morning, though the cross Winds, and want of some Provisions which were necessary for the Journey detained him there four or five days longer; during which time, the Dissenting Lords every day waited upon him, and were receiv'd by him very Graciously; his Highness well knowing and expressing to them a confidence in their Affections, and that they would be sure to wait upon him, whenever his occasions should be ready for their Service. But between them and the other Lords, there grew by degrees so great a strangeness, that, the last day, they did not so much as speak to each other; they who came from the Queen taking it very ill, that the others had presumed to dissent from what her Majesty had so positively Comanded. And though they neither loved their Persons, nor cared for their Company, and without doubt, if they had gone into *France*, would have made them quickly weary of theirs; yet, in that Conjunction, they believ'd that the Dissent and Separation of all those Persons who were trusted by the King with the Person of the Prince, would blast their Counsel, and weigh down the single positive Determination of the Queen her self.

ON the other side, the others did not think they were treated in that manner as was due to Persons so entrusted; but that in truth many ill Consequences would result from that suddain departure of the Prince out of the King's Dominions, where his residence might have been secure in respect of the Affairs of *England*; where, besides the Garrisons of *Silly* and *Pendennis* (which might always be reliev'd by Sea) there remain'd still within his Majesty's Obedience, *Oxford*, *Worcester*, *Wallingford*, *Ludlow*, and some other places of less name, which, upon any divisions among themselves, that were naturally to be expected, might have turn'd the Scale: Nor did they know, of what ill Consequence it might be to the King, that in such a Conjunction the Prince should be remov'd, when it might be more Counsellable that he should appear in *Scotland*.

MORE-

MOREOVER, Mr *Asburnham*'s opinion, which he had deliver'd to the Lord *Capel*, wrought very much upon them; for that a Man so entirely trusted by the King, who had seen him as lately as any Body, should bring no directions from his Majesty to his Son, and that he should believe, that it was fitter for the Prince to stay in *Jersey* than to remove into *France*, till his Majesty's pleasure was better understood, confirm'd them in the judgement they had deliver'd.

BUT there was another reason that prevailed with those who had been made Privy to it, and which, out of Duty to the Queen, they thought not fit to publish, or insist upon; it was the Instructions given to *Bellevue* (and which too much manifested the irresolution her Majesty had) not to insist upon what they well knew the King would never depart from; for, though that Embassadour was required to do all he could to persuade the Presbyterians to joyn with the King's Party, and not to insist upon the destruction of the Church, yet if he found that could not be compassed, He was to press, as the advice of the King his Master, his Majesty to part with the Church, and to satisfy the Presbyterians in that point, as the advice of the Queen his Wife, and of his own Party; which method was afterwards observ'd and pursued by *Bellevue*; which those Lords perfectly abhor'd; and thought not fit ever to concur in, or to be privy to those Counsels that had begun, and were to carry on that Confusion.

WITHIN a day or two after the Prince's departure from *Jersey*, the Earl of *Berkshire* left it likewise, and went for *England*; the Lords *Capel*, *Hopton*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, remain'd together in *Jersey* to expect the King's pleasure, and to attend a conjuncture to appear again in his Majesty's Service; of all which they found an opportunity to inform his Majesty, who very well interpreted all that they had done according to the sincerity of their hearts; yet did believe, that if they had likewise waited upon the Prince into *France*, they might have been able to have prevented or diverted those violent Pressures, which were afterwards made upon him from thence, and gave him more disquiet than he suffer'd from all the Insolence of his Enemies.

IN a word, if the King's Fortune had been farther to be conducted by any fixt Rules of policy and discretion, and if the current towards his destruction had not run with such a Torrent, as carried down all obstructions of Sobriety and Wisdom, and made the Confusion inevitable, it is very probable that this so suddain remove of the Prince from *Jersey* with all the Circumstances thereof, might have been look'd upon, and Censured with Severity, as an Action that swerv'd from that prudence which by the fundamental Rules of policy had been long

long establish'd; but by the Fatal and prodigious Calamities which follow'd, all Counsels of wise and unwise Men proving equally unsuccessful, the Memory of what had pass'd before, grew to be the less thought upon and considered.

Transactions relating to the King in the Scottish Army.

WHILST these things were thus Transacted in other Parts, the King remain'd yet in the *Scottish* Army; that People behaving themselves in such a manner, that most Men believ'd they would never have parted with his Majesty till a full Peace had been made. The Parliament made many sharp Instances, "that the King might be deliver'd into their hands; "and that the *Scottish* Army would return into their own Country, having done what they were sent for, and the War being at an end. To which the Council of *Scotland* seem'd to Answer with Courage enough, and insisted most on those Arguments of the King's legal Rights, which had been, in all his Majesty's Declarations, urged against the Parliaments proceedings; and which indeed could never be Answer'd; and as much condemn'd Them, as the Parliament.

In the mean time, though the King receiv'd all outward Respect, he was in truth in the condition of a Prisoner; no Servant whom he could Trust suffer'd to come to him; and though many Persons of Quality who had serv'd the King in the War, when they saw the resolute Answers made by the *Scots*, "that they neither would nor could compel their King "to return to the Parliament, if his Majesty had no mind to "do so, repaired to *New-Castle*, where his Majesty was, yet none of them were suffer'd to speak to him; nor could he receive from, or send any Letter to the Queen or Prince; and yet the *Scots* observ'd all distances, and perform'd all the Ceremonies as could have been expected if they had indeed treated him as their King; and made as great profession to him of their Duty and good purposes, "which they said they would "manifest as soon as it should be seasonable; and then his Servants, and Friends should repair to him with all Liberty, "and be well receiv'd: and as they endeavour'd to persuade the King to expect this from them, so they prevailed with many Officers of that Army, and some of the Nobility, to believe that they meant well, but that it was not yet time to discover their Intentions.

The King sends to the Marquis of Mountrose to disband, which he did.

THUS they prevailed with the King to send his positive Orders to the Marquis of *Mountrose*, who had indeed done Wonders, to lay down his Armes, and to leave the Kingdom; till when, they pretended they could not declare for his Majesty; and this was done with so much earnestness, and by a particular Messenger known and Truſted, that the Marquis obeyed, and Transported himself into *France*.

. THEN

THEN they employ'd their *Alexander Henderson*, and their ^{They employ} other Clergy, to persuade the King to consent to the Extir- ^{Henderson} pation of Episcopacy in *England*, as he had in *Scotland*; and ^{to the King} it was, and is still believ'd, that if his Majesty would have ^{to dispute} been induced to have satisfied them in that particular, they ^{with him} would either have had a Party in the Parliament at *Westmin-* ^{concerning} *ster* to have been satisfied therewith, or that they would there- ^{Church Gov-} upon have declared for the King, and have presently joyn'd ^{ernment.} with the Loyal Party in all places for his Majesty's defence. But the King was too Conscientious to buy his Peace at so Prophane and Sacrilegious a price as was demanded, and he was so much too hard for Mr *Henderson* in the Argumentation (as appears by the Papers that passed between them, which were shortly after Communicated to the world) that the old Man himself was so far Convinced, and Converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischief he had himself been the Author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest Friends, and Confidants; and dyed of grief, and heart-broken, within a very short time after he departed from his Majesty.

WHILST the King stayed at *New-Castle*, *Bellieure* the French Embassadour, who was sent from *Paris* after the Prince arriv'd there, and by whom the Cardinal had promised to press the Parliament so imperiously, and to denounce a War against them if they refused to yield to what was reasonable towards an Agreement with the King, came to his Majesty, ^{Bellieure's} after he had spent some time at *London* in all the low Applica- ^{negotiations} tion to the Parliament that can be imagin'd, without any men- ^{at London,} tion of the King with any tenderness, as if his Interest were ^{and with the} at all consider'd by the King his Master, and without any con- ^{King after-} sultation with those of his Majesty's Party; who were then in ^{wards at} *London*, and would have been very ready to have advised still ^{New-Ca.} with him. But he chose rather to converse with the principal Leaders of the Presbyterian Party in the Parliament, and with the *Scottish* Commissioners, from whose Information he took all his Measures; and they assured him "that nothing "could be done for the King, except he would give up the "Church; extirpate Episcopacy; and grant all the Lands be- "longing to Cathedral Churches to such Uses as the Parlia- "ment should advise; so that, when he came to the King, he press'd him very earnestly to that Condescension.

BUT, besides the matter proposed, in which his Majesty was unmoveable, he had no esteem of any thing the Embassa- dour said to him, having too late discover'd the little affection the Cardinal had for him, and which he had too much relied upon. For, as hath been already said, by his advice, and upon his undertaking and assurance that his Majesty should be well

recited from a perfect Journal published in those times, by
J^r W^r Dugdale in his Short View. p. 220 &c. where he mentions
a remarkable piece of violence shown to a King by a vir-
tuous Presbyterian Preacher here. who at 8. W. says besides many
inde & unbecom'g expressions called for of 52 Psalm to be sung
by the congregation to begin with this. Why dost thou stand
by?

Go off abroad, thy wicked works to praise? whereupon his Ma-
 jesty as he said these instantly stood up & called for the 56 Psalm
 beginning thus - Have mercy Lord on his pray, for he would
 be devon. 13³² & W. the
 People readily sung
 waving of offer.

THE HISTORY Book X.

receiv'd in the *Scottish* Army, and that they would be firm to
 his Interest, his Majesty had ventur'd to put himself into their
 hands; and he was no sooner there, than all they with whom
Montrevil had Treated, disavow'd their undertaking what the
 King had been inform'd of; and though the Envoy did avow,
 and justify, what he had inform'd the King, to the Faces of
 the Persons who had given their Engagements, the Cardinal
 chose rather to Recall, and Discountenance the Minister of
 that Crown, than to enter into any Expostulation with the Par-
 liament, or the *Scots*.

THE Embassadour, by an Express, quickly inform'd the Car-
 dinal that the King was too reserv'd in giving the Parliament
 satisfaction; and therefore wish'd, "that some Body might
 be sent over, who was like to have so much credit with his
 Majesty as to perswade him to what was necessary for his
 Service. Upon which, the Queen, who was never advised
 by those who either understood, or valued his true Interest,
 consulted with those about her; and sent *Sr William D'avenant*,
 an honest Man, and a Witty, but in all respects inferior to
 such a Trust, with a Letter of credit to the King (who knew
 the Person well enough under another Character than was like
 to give him much credit in the Argument in which he was in-
 structed) although her Majesty had likewise other ways de-
 clared her opinion to his Majesty, "that he should part with
 the Church for his Peace and Security.

*Sr William
 D'avenant
 sent from the
 Queen to the
 King to per-
 swade him to
 give up the
 Church.*

SIR William D'avenant had, by the countenance of the
French Embassadour, easy admission to the King; who heard
 him patiently all he had to say, and answer'd him in that
 manner that made it evident he was not pleas'd with the ad-
 vice. When he found his Majesty unsatisfied, and that he
 was not like to consent to what was so earnestly desired by
 them by whose advice he was sent, who undervalued all those
 scruples of Conscience which his Majesty himself was strongly
 possess'd with, he took upon himself the confidence to offer
 some Reasons to the King to induce him to yield to what was
 propos'd; and, among other things, said, "it was the advice
 and opinion of all his Friends; his Majesty asking, "what
 Friends? and he answering, "that it was the opinion of the
 Lord *Fermyn*, the King said, "that the Lord *Fermyn* did
 not understand any thing of the Church. The other said,
 the Lord *Colepepper* was of the same mind. The King said,
Colepepper had no Religion: and asked, "whether the Chan-
 cellor of the Exchequer was of that mind? to which he an-
 swer'd, "he did not know; for that he was not there, and
 had deserted the Prince: and thereupon, said somewhat
 from the Queen of the displeasure she had conceiv'd against
 the Chancellor; to which the King said, "the Chancellor

"was an honest Man, and would never desert Him, nor the Prince, nor the Church; and that he was sorry he was not with his Son; but that his Wife was mistaken *D'avenant* then offering some reasons of his own, in which he mention'd the Church slightly, as if it were not of Importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the concession, his Majesty was transported with so much indignation, that he gave him a sharper reprehension than was usual for him to give to any other Man; and forbid him to presume to come again into his Presence. Whereupon the poor Man, who had in truth very good Affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted; and return'd into *France*, to give an Account of his ill Success to those who sent him.

As all Men's expectations from the Courage and Activity of the *French* Embassadour in *England*, were thus frustrated, by his mean and low Carriage both towards the Parliament and at *New-Castle*, so all the professions which had been made of respect and tenderness towards the Prince of *Wales*, when his Person should once appear in *France*, were as unworthily disappointed. The Prince had been above two Months with the Queen his Mother, before any Notice was taken of his being in *France*, by the least Message sent from the Court to Congratulate his arrival there; but that time was spent in debating the Formalities of his Reception; how the King should treat him? and how he should behave himself towards the King? whether he should take place of Monsieur the King's Brother? and what kind of Ceremonies should be observ'd between the Prince of *Wales* and his Uncle the Duke of *Orleans*? and many such other particulars; in all which they were resolv'd to give the Law themselves; and which had been fitter to have been adjusted in *Jersey*, before he put himself into their Power, than disputed afterwards in the Court of *France*; from which there could be then no Appeal.

THERE can be no doubt but that the Cardinal, who was the sole Minister of State, and directed all that was to be done, and dictated all that was to be said, did think the presence of the Prince there of the highest importance to their affairs, and did all that was in his Power, to persuade the Queen that it was as necessary for the affairs of the King her Husband, and of her Majesty: but now that work was over, and the Person of the Prince brought into their power, without the least publick Act or Ceremony to invite him thither, it was no less his care that the Parliament in *England*, and the Officers of the Army, whom he fear'd more than the Parliament, should believe that the Prince came thither without their will, and in truth against their will; that the Crown of *France* could not refuse to interpose, and mediate, to make

up the difference between the Parliament and the *Scottish* Nation, and that the Kingdoms might be restored to Peace ; but that when they had perform'd that Office of Mediation, they had perform'd their Function ; and that they would no more presume to take upon them to judge between the Parliament and the *Scots*, than they had done between the King and the Parliament ; and that since the Prince had come to the Queen his Mother, from which they could not reasonably restrain him, it should not be attended with any prejudice to the Peace of *England* ; nor should he there find any means, or assistance, to disturb it. And it was believ'd by those who stood at no great distance from affairs, that the Cardinal then laid the Foundation for that Friendship which was shortly after built up between him and *Cromwell*, by promising "that they should receive less inconvenience by the Prince's remaining in *France*, than if he were in any other part of *Europe*. And it can hardly be believ'd, with how little respect they treated him during the whole time of his stay there. They were very careful that he might not be look'd upon as supported by them either according to his Dignity, or for the maintenance of his Family ; but a mean addition to the Pension which the Queen had before, was made to her Majesty, without any mention of the Prince her Son ; who was wholly to depend upon her Bounty, without power to gratify and oblige any of his own Servants ; that they likewise might depend only upon the Queen's goodness and favour, and so behave themselves accordingly.

WHEN the *Scots* had secured the peace and quiet of their own Country, by Disbanding the Forces under the Marquis of *Montrose*, and by his Transporting himself beyond the Seas, and by putting to death several Persons of Name who had follow'd the Marquis, and had been taken Prisoners, among whom *St Robert Spotswood* was one, a worthy honest Loyal Gentleman, and as wise a Man as that Nation had at that time (whom the King had made Secretary of State of that Kingdom, in the place of the Earl of *Lawrick*, who was then in Arms against him ; which, it may be, was a principal cause that the other was put to death.) And when they had with such Solemnity and Resolution made it plain and evident, that they could not, without the most barefaced violation of their Faith and Allegiance, and of the fundamental principle of Christian Religion, ever deliver up their Native King, who had put himself into their hands, into the hands of the Parliament, against his own Will and Consent : And when the Earl of *Lowden* had publicly declared to the two Houses of Parliament in a Conference. "that an Eternal Infamy would lie upon them, and the whole Nation, if they should deliver

“liver the Person of the King; the securing of which was
 “equally their Duty, as it was the Parliament’s, and the dif-
 “posal of his Person in order to that security did equally be-
 “long to Them as to the Parliament; however, they said,
 “they would use all the perswasion, and all the importunity
 “they could with the King that his Majesty might yield, and
 “consent to the propositions the Parliament had sent to him.

THE Parliament had, upon the first notice of the King’s
 being arriv’d in the *Scotish* Army, sent a positive Command
 to the Committee of both Kingdoms residing in the *Scotish*
 Army, that the Person of the King should be forthwith sent
 to *Warwick* Castle; but the *Scots*, who apprehended they
 could not be long without such an Order, had, within two
 days after his Majesty’s coming to them, and after he had
 caused *Newark* to be deliver’d up, with wonderful expedition
 marched towards *New-Castle*; and were arriv’d there before
 they receiv’d that Order for sending his Majesty to *Warwick*;
 which proceeding of theirs, pleased his Majesty very well,
 among many other things which displeased him; and per-
 swaded him, that though they would observe their own meth-
 od, they would, in the end, do somewhat for his Service.

UPON the receiving that Order, they renew’d their pro-
 fessions to the Parliament of observing punctually all that had
 been agreed between them; and besought them, “that since
 “they had promised the King, before he left *Oxford*, to send
 “Propositions to him, they would now do it; and said, that
 “if he refused to comply with them, to which they should
 “perswade him, they knew what they were to do. Then
 they advised the King, and prevailed with him, to send Or-
 ders to the Governour of *Oxford* to make conditions, and to
 surrender that place (where his Son the Duke of *York* was,
 and all the Council) into the hands of *Fairfax*, who with his
 Army then besieged them; and likewise to publish a general
 Order (which they caused to be printed) “that all Gover-
 nours of any Garrisons for his Majesty, should immedi-
 ately deliver them up to the Parliament upon fair and ho-
 nourable Conditions, since his Majesty resolv’d in all things
 “to be advised by his Parliament; and till this was done,
 “they said, they could not declare themselves in that manner
 “for his Majesty’s Service, and Interest, as they resolv’d to
 “do; for that they were, by their Treaty and Confederacy, to
 “serve the Parliament in such manner as they should direct,
 “until the War should be ended; but, that done, they had no
 “more obligations to the Parliament; and that, when his Ma-
 “jesty had no more Forces on foot, nor Garrisons which
 “held out for him, it could not be denied but that the War
 “was at an end; and then they could speak and expostulate

D 2

“with

"with freedom. By which arts, they prevailed with the King to send, and publish such Orders as aforesaid; and which indeed, as the case then stood, he could have receiv'd little benefit by not publishing.

The Parliament, upon the Scots request, sends Propositions of Peace to the King at New-Castle; about the end of July.

THE Parliament was contented, as the more expedite way (though they were much offended at the presumption of the Scots in neglecting to send the King to *Warwick*) to send their Propositions to the King (which they knew his Majesty would never grant) by Commissioners of both Houses, who had no other Authority, or Power, than " to demand a positive Answer from the King in ten days, and then to return. These Propositions were deliver'd about the end of *July*; and contain'd such an eradication of the Government of the Church and State, that the King told them, " he knew not " what Answer to make to them, till he should be inform'd " what Power or Authority they had left to him, and his " Heirs, when he had given all that to them which they desired. He desired, " that he might be removed to some of " his own Houses, and that he might reside there till, upon a " Personal Treaty with his Parliament, such an agreement " might be established as the Kingdom might enjoy peace and " happiness under it; which, he was sure, it could never do " by the concessions they proposed.

His Majesty's Answer.

THE Scots, who were enough convinced that his Majesty could never be wrought upon to sacrifice the Church to their wild lusts and impiety, were as good as their words to the Parliament, and used all the rude importunity and Threats to his Majesty, to persuade him freely to consent to all: though they confessed " that the Propositions were higher in many " things than they approv'd of, yet they saw no other means " for him to close with his Parliament, than by granting what " they required.

The Scots enforce the Parliaments Propositions by their Chancellor.

THE Chancellor of *Scotland* told him, " that the consequence of his Answer to the Propositions, was as great, as the " ruin, or preservation of his Crown or Kingdoms: That the " Parliament after many bloody Battles, had got the strong- " holds and Forts of the Kingdom into their hands: that they " had his Revenue, Excise, Assessments, Sequestrations, and " power to raise all the Men and Money of the Kingdom: " that they had gained Victory over all, and that they had a " strong Army to maintain it; so that they might do what " they would with Church or State: that they desired neither " Him, nor any of his Race, longer to Reign over them; and " had sent these Propositions to his Majesty, without the " granting whereof, the Kingdom and his People could not " be in safety: that if he refused to Assent, he would lose all " his Friends in Parliament, lose the City, and lose the Coun- " try;

“try; and that all *England* would joyn against him as one
 “Man to process, and depose him, and to set up another Go-
 “vernment; and so, that both Kingdoms, for either's Safety,
 “would agree to settle Religion and Peace without him, to
 “the ruin of his Majesty, and his Posterity: and concluded,
 “that if he left *England*, he would not be admitted to come
 “and Reign in *Scotland*.

AND it is very true that the General Assembly of the Kirk,
 which was then sitting in *Scotland*, had Petition'd the Con-
 servators of the Peace of the Kingdom, “that if the King
 “should refuse to give satisfaction to his Parliament, he might
 “not be permitted to come into *Scotland*. This kind of Ar-
 gumentation did more provoke than perswade the King; he
 told them, with great Resolution, and Magnanimity, “that *His Maje-*
 “no Condition they could reduce him to, could be half so mi- *sty's Answer*
 “serable, and grievous to him, as that which they would *so them.*
 “perswade him to reduce himself to; and therefore, bid them
 “proceed their own way; and that though they had all for-
 “saken him, God had not.

THE Parliament had now receiv'd the Answer they ex- *The Parliam-*
 pected; and forthwith, required “the *Scots* to quit the King- *ments require*
 “dom, and to deliver the Person of the King to such Persons *the Scots to*
 “as they should appoint to receive him; who should attend *quit the*
 upon his Majesty from *New-Castle* to *Holmby*, a House of *Kingdom,*
 his at a small distance from *Northampton*, a Town and Coun- *and to deli-*
 try of very eminent disaffection to the King throughout the *ver up the*
 War; and declared “that his Majesty should be treated, with *Person of*
 “respect to the safety and preservation of his Person, accord- *the King.*
 “ing to the Covenant: And that after his coming to *Holmby*,
 “he should be attended by such as they should appoint; and
 “that when the *Scots* were removed out of *England*, the Par-
 “liament would joyn with their Brethren of *Scotland* again
 “to perswade the King to pass the Propositions; which if he
 “refused to do, the House would do nothing that might break
 “the Union of the two Kingdoms, but would endeavour to pre-
 “serve the same.

THE *Scots* now begun again to talk sturdily, and deny'd
 “that the Parliament of *England* had power absolutely to
 “dispose of the Person of the King without their approba-
 “tion; and the Parliament as loudly reply'd, “that they had
 “nothing to do in *England*, but to observe their Orders; and
 added such Threats to their Reasons, as might let them see
 they had a great contempt of their power, and would exact
 Obedience from them, if they refused to yield it. But these
 discourses were only kept up till they could adjust all Ac-
 counts between them, and agree what price they should pay
 for the delivery of his Person whom one side was resolv'd to

D 3

have,

The Scots
agree to de-
liver up the
King.

have, and the other as resolv'd not to keep; and so they agreed; and, upon the payment of two hundred thousand pounds in hand, and security for as much more upon days agreed upon, the Scots deliver'd the King up into such hands as the Parliament appointed to receive Him.

IN this infamous manner that excellent Prince was, in the end of January, given up, by his *Scotish* Subjects, to those of his *English* who were intrusted by the Parliament to receive Him; which had appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, to go to the place agreed upon with a Party of Horse and Foot of the Army, which were subject to the Orders of that Committee, and the Committee it self to go to *New-Castle* to receive that Town as well as the King; where, and to whom, his Majesty was deliver'd.

The Committee appointed by the Parliament to receive the King at New-Castle in the end of January. Servants appointed by the Parliament to attend his Majesty.

THEY receiv'd Him with the same formality of respect as he had been treated with by the Scots, and with the same strictness restrain'd all resort of those to his Majesty, who were of doubtful Affections to them, and their Cause. Servants were particularly appointed, and named by the Parliament, to attend upon his Person, and Service, in all relations; amongst which, in the first place, they prefer'd those who had faithfully adhered to them against their Master; and, where such were wanting, they found others who had manifested their Affection to them. And, in this distribution, the Presbyterian Party in the Houses did what they pleased, and were thought to govern all. The Independents craftily letting them enjoy that confidence of their power and interest, till they had dismiss'd their Friends, the Scots, out of the Kingdom; and permitting them to put Men of their principles about the Person of the King, and to choose such a Guard as they could confide in, to attend his Majesty.

OF the Committee employ'd to govern and direct all, Major General *Brown* was one, who had a great Name and Interest in the City, and with all the Presbyterian Party, and had done great Service to the Parliament in the War under the Earl of *Essex*, and was a diligent and stout Commander. In this manner, and with this attendance, his Majesty was brought to his own House at *Holmby* in *Northampton-shire*; a place he had taken much delight in: And there he was to stay till the Parliament and the Army (for the Army now took upon them to have a share, and to give their opinion in the Settlement that should be made) should determine what should be farther done.

The King is brought to Holmby.

IN the mean time, the Committee paid all respects to his Majesty; and he enjoy'd those Exercises he most delighted in; and seem'd to have all liberty, but to confer with Persons he most desired, and to have such Servants about him as he could trust.

h. B. & W. Dugdale in his View p. 234 says he was kept under a strict Restraint (Col. Rich. Greaves a most confiding Presbyterian having y^e chief Command of his Guard) not suffering any of his own Servants to come near him no not so much as to deliver for performance of such Divine offices as Common Charity w^d not have denied to y^e greatest Criminal.

trust. That which most displeased him, was, that they would not permit him to have his own Chaplains; but order'd Presbyterian Ministers to attend for Divine Service; and his Majesty, utterly refusing to be present at their Devotions, was compell'd at those hours to be his own Chaplain in his Bed-Chamber; where he constantly used the Common-Prayer by himself. His Majesty bore this constraint so heavily that he writ a Letter to the House of Peers, in which he inclosed a List of the Names of thirteen of his Chaplains; any two of which he desir'd might have liberty to attend him for his Devotion. To which, after many days consideration, they return'd this Answer; "that all those Chaplains were disaffected to the Establish'd Government of the Church, and had not taken the Covenant; but that there were others who had, who, if his Majesty pleas'd, should be sent to him. After this Answer, his Majesty thought it to no purpose to importune them farther in that particular; but, next to the having his own Chaplains, he would have been best pleas'd to have been without any; they who were sent by them, being Men of mean Parts and of most impertinent and troublesome Confidence and Importunity."

WHILST those Disputes continued between the Parliament and the Scots concerning the King's Person, the Army proceeded with great Success in reducing those Garrisons which still continued in his Majesty's Obedience; whereof though some Surrender'd more easily and with less resistance than they might have made, satisfying themselves with the King's general Order, and that there was no reasonable expectation of Relief, and therefore that it would not be amiss, by an early Submission, to obtain better Conditions for themselves; yet others defended themselves with notable Obstinacy to the last, to the great damage of the Enemy, and to the detaining the Army from Uniting together; without which they could not pursue the great designs they had. And this was one of the reasons that made the Treaty with the Scots depend so long, and that the Presbyterians continued their Authority and Credit so long; and We may observe again, that those Garrisons which were maintain'd and defended with the greatest Courage and Virtue, in the end, obtain'd as good and as honourable Conditions, as any of those who Surrender'd upon the first Summons.

THIS was the Case of *Ragland* and *Pendennis* Castles; which endured the longest Sieges, and held out the last of any Forts or Castles in *England*; being bravely defended by two Persons of very great Age; but were at length deliver'd up within a day or two of each other. *Ragland* was maintain'd, with extraordinary Resolution and Courage, by the old

D 4

Marquis

The King desir'd a list of his Chaplains; as refused.
h.B. of his Majesty complained by Elkanah Bani.
21st King's Bench in p. 232. says the King made his Request on Feb. 17 & received it on March 6. & in p. 237. says if he 15th of the 16th of the Parliament for Peace sent to of Parliament. from hence on May 12

Marquis of *Worcester* against *Fairfax* himself, till it was reduced to the utmost Necessity. *Pendennis* refused all Summons; admitting no Treaty, till all their Provisions were so far consumed, that they had not Victual left for four and twenty hours; and then they treated and carried themselves in the Treaty with such Resolution, and Unconcernedness, that the Enemy concluded they were in no streights; and so gave them the Conditions they propos'd; which were as good as any Garrison in *England* had accepted. This Castle was defended by the Governour thereof, *John Arundel of Tverice in Cornwall*, an old Gentleman of near fourscore years of Age, and of one of the best Estates and Interest in that County; who, with the Assistance of his Son *Richard Arundel* (who was then a Colonel in the Army; a stout and diligent Officer; and was by the King after his Return made a Baron, Lord *Arundel of Tverice*, in memory of his Father's Service, and his own eminent behaviour throughout the War) maintain'd, and defended the same to the last Extremity.

THERE remain'd with him in that Service many Gentlemen of the Country of great Loyalty, amongst whom *St Harry Killgrew* was one; who, being an intimate Friend of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resolv'd to go to *Jersey*; and, as soon as the Castle was Surrender'd, took the first opportunity of a Vessel then in the Harbour of *Rahmouthe*, to Transport himself with some Officers and Soldiers to *St Maloes* in *Britany*; from whence he writ to the Chancellor in *Jersey*, that he would procure a Bark of that Island to go to *St Maloes* to fetch him thither; which, by the kindness of *St George Carteret*, was presently sent, with a longing desire to receive him into that Island; the two Lords *Capel* and *Hopson*, and the Governour, having an extraordinary affection for him, as well as the Chancellor. Within two days after, upon view of the Vessel at Sea (which they well knew) they all made hast to the Harbour to receive their Friend; but, when they came thither, to their infinite regret, they found his Body there in a Coffin, he having dy'd at *St Maloes* within a day after he had written his Letter.

AFTER the Treaty was sign'd for delivering the Castle, he had walked out to discharge some Armes which were in his Chamber; among which, a Carabine that had been long charged, in the shooting off, broke; and a splinter of it struck him in the fore-head; which, though it drew much Blood, was not apprehended by him to be of any danger; so that his Friends could not perswade him to stay there till the wound was cured; but, the Blood being stopp'd, and the Chirurgion having bound it up, he prosecuted his intended Voyage; and at his Landing at *St Maloes*, he writ that Letter; believing his wound

wound would give him little trouble. But his Letter was no sooner gone than he sent for a Chirurgeon; who, opening the wound, found it was very deep and dangerous; and the next day he dy'd, having desired that his dead Body might be sent to *Jersey*; where he was decently buried. He was a very Gallant Gentleman, of a Noble Extraction, and a fair Revenue in Land; of excellent Parts and Courage; he had one only Son, who was killed before him in a Party that fell upon the Enemies Quarters near *Bridgewater*; where he behaved himself with remarkable Courage, and was generally lamented.

SIR *Harry* was of the House of Commons; and though he had no other relation to the Court than the having many Friends there, as wherever he was known he was exceedingly below'd, he was most zealous and passionate in opposing all the extravagant proceedings of the Parliament. And when the Earl of *Essex* was chosen General, and the several Members of the House stood up, and declared, what Horfe they would raise, and maintain, and that they would live and dye with the Earl their General, one saying he would raise ten Horfes, and another twenty, He stood up and said, "He would provide a good Horfe, and a good Buff Coat, and a good pair of Pistols, and then he doubted not but he should find a good Cause; and so went out of the House, and rode Post into *Cornewal*, where his Estate and Interest lay; and there joyn'd with those Gallant Gentlemen his Friends, who first receiv'd the Lord *Hopton*, and raised those Forces which did so many famous Actions in the West.

He would never take any Command in the Army; but they who had, consulted with no Man more. He was in all Actions, and in those places where was most danger, having great Courage and a pleasantness of humour in Danger that was very exemplary; and they who did not do their duty took care not to be within his view; for he was a very sharp Speaker, and cared not for angering those who deserv'd to be reprehended. The *Arundels*, *Trelawnies*, *Stannings*, *Trevanions*, and all the signal Men of that County, infinitely loved his Spirit, and Sincerity; and his Credit and Interest had a great influence upon all but those who did not love the King; and to those, he was very terrible; and exceedingly hated by them; and not loved by Men of moderate Tempers; for he thought all such prepared to Rebel, when a little Success should encourage them; and was many times too much offended with Men who wish'd well, and whose Constitutions and Complexions would not permit them to express the same frankness, which his Nature and keenness of Spirit could not suppress. His loss was much lamented by all good Men.

FROM

as y said Vol. 2. p. 523.
 1 ear in Vol. 2. p. 41. an
 Acc. of. W. Killigrew.
 9. B. 5. 4 said in the
 Life of James Bonnell
 29. 3. 50 it. 8. 1707 for
 J. Downing. pag. 3.
 that one m. Killigrew.
 was employ'd by the
 Duke of York to pro-
 mote their Interest in
 Italy especially at
 Ephorn where he had
 very considerable
 supplies for the inter-
 vice from the Duke of
 York. w. Key actrow.
 Esq. in letters to
 him.

FROM the time that the King was brought to *Holmbury*, and whilst he stay'd there, he was afflicted with the same pressures concerning the Church, which had disquieted him at *New-Castle*; the Parliament not remitting any of their Insolencies in their Demands: all which was imputed to the Presbyterians, who were thought to exercise the whole Power, and begun to give Orders for the lessening their great Charge by disbanding some Troops of their Army, and sending others for *Ireland*; which they made no doubt speedily to Reduce; and declared, "that they would then disband all Armies, that the Kingdom might be govern'd by the known Laws."

Differences
arise be-
tween the
Parliament
and the Ar-
my.

Divers Sects
increase in
the Army.

THIS Temper in the Houses raised another Spirit in the Army; which did neither like the Presbyterian Government that they saw ready to be settled in the Church, nor that the Parliament should so absolutely dispose of them, by whom they had gotten power to do all they had done; and *Cromwell*, who had the sole influence upon the Army, under-hand, made them Petition the Houses against any thing that was done contrary to his opinion. He himself, and his Officers, took upon them to Preach and Pray publicly to their Troops, and admitted few or no Chaplains in the Army, but such as bitterly inveighed against the Presbyterian Government, as more Tyrannical than Episcopacy; and the Common Soldiers, as well as the Officers, did not only Pray, and Preach among themselves, but went up into the Pulpits in all Churches, and Preached to the People; who quickly became inspired with the same Spirit; Women as well as Men taking upon them to Pray and Preach; which made as great a noise and confusion in all opinions concerning Religion, as there was in the Civil Government of the State; scarce any Man being suffer'd to be called in question for delivering any opinion in Religion, by speaking or writing, how Prophane, Heretical, or Blasphemous soever it was; "which, they said, was to restrain the Spirit.

LIBERTY of Conscience was now the Common Argument and Quarrel, whilst the Presbyterian Party proceeded with equal bitterness against the several Sects as Enemies to all Godliness, as they had done, and still continued to do, against the Prelatical Party; and finding themselves superior in the two Houses, little doubted, by their Authority and Power there, to be able to reform the Army, and to new model it again; which they would, no doubt, have attempted, if it had not pleased God to have taken away the Earl of *Essex* some Months before this; who dy'd without being sensible of sickness, in a time when he might have been able to have undone much of the mischief he had formerly wrought; to which he had great inclinations; and had indignation enough for the indignities

The Earl of
Essex dyed
in Sept. this
year.

See a larger Ac-
count of the
Differences between
the Parliament
and the Army.
h. 235 &c.

dignities himself had receiv'd from the ungrateful Parliament, and wonderful apprehension, and detestation of the ruin he saw like to befall the King, and the Kingdom. And it is very probable, considering the present temper of the City at that time, and of the two Houses, he might, if he had lived, have given some check to the rage and fury that then prevailed. But God would not suffer a Man, who, out of the Pride and Vanity of his Nature, rather than the wickedness of his Heart, had been made an Instrument of so much mischief, to have any share in so glorious a work: Though his Constitution, and Temper, might very well incline him to the Lethargick indispotion of which he dy'd, yet it was loudly said by many of his Friends, "that he was Poyson'd."

SURE it is that *Cromwell*, and his Party (for he was now declared head of the Army, though *Fairfax* continued General in Name) were wonderfully exalted with his death; he being the only Person whose Credit and Interest they fear'd without any esteem of his Person.

AND now, that they might more substantially enter into dispute, and competition with the Parliament, and go a share with them in settling the Kingdom (as they call'd it) the Army erected a kind of Parliament among themselves. They had, from the time of the defeat of the King's Army, and when they had no more Enemy to contend with in the Field, and after they had purged their Army of all those inconvenient Officers, of whose entire Submission, and Obedience to all their Dictates, they had not confidence, set aside, in effect, their Self-denying Ordinance, and got their principal Officers of the Army, and others of their Friends, whose Principles they well knew, to be elected Members of the House of Commons into their places who were dead, or who had been expell'd by them for adhering to the King. By this means, *Fairfax* himself, *Iretow*, *Harrison*, and many others of the Independents, Officers and Gentlemen, of the several Counties, who were transported with new fancies in Religion, and were called by a new name *Fanaticks*, sat in the House of Commons; notwithstanding all which, the Presbyterians still carried it.

BUT about this time, that they might be upon a nearer Level with the Parliament, the Army made choice of a number of such Officers as they liked; which they called the General's Council of Officers; who were to resemble the House of Peers; and the Common Soldiers made choice of three or four of each Regiment, most Corporals or Serjeants, few or none above the degree of an Ensign, who were call'd Agitators, and were to be as a House of Commons to the Council of Officers. These two Representatives met severally, and consider'd

*Agitators,
as well as a
Council of
Officers, ap-
pointed by
the Army.*

*Their first
Resolutions:*

consider'd of all the Acts and Orders made by the Parliament towards settling the Kingdom, and towards reforming, dividing, or disbanding of the Army: and; upon mutual Messages and Conferences between each other, they resolv'd in the first place, and declared, "that they would not be divided, "or disbanded, before their full Arrears were paid, and before "full Provision was made for Liberty of Conscience; which, "they said, was the ground of the Quarrel; and for which "so many of their Friends Lives had been lost, and so much "of their own Blood had been spilt; and that hitherto there "was so little security provided in that point, that there was "a greater Persecution now against Religious and Godly Men, "than ever had been in the King's Government, when the "Bishops were their Judges.

THEY said, "they did not look upon themselves as a Band "of *Familiars*, hired and entertain'd only to Fight their Battles; but that they had voluntarily taken up Armes for the "Liberty and Defence of the Nation of which they were a "part; and before they laid down those Armes, they would "see all those ends well provided for, that the People might "not hereafter undergo those grievances which they had formerly suffer'd. They complain'd that some Members of the "Army had been sent for by the Parliament, and committed "to Prison, which was against their Privilege; since all Soldiers ought to be tryed by a Council of War, and not by "any other Judicatory; and therefore they desired redress in "these, and many other particulars of as ingrateful a Nature; "and that such as were Imprison'd and in Custody, might be "forthwith set at liberty; without which they could not think "themselves justly dealt with: And with this Declaration and Address, they sent three or four of their own Members to the House of Commons; who deliver'd it at the Bar with wonderful Confidence.

*Which they
deliver'd to
the Parliament.*

THE Soldiers publish'd a vindication, as they call'd it, of their Proceedings and Resolutions, and directed it to their General; in which they complain'd of a design to disband, and new model the Army; "which, they said, was a Plot "contriv'd by some Men who had lately tasted of Sovereignty; and, being lifted up above the ordinary Sphere of Servants, endeavour'd to become Masters, and were degenerated into Tyrants. They therefore declared, "that they "would neither be employ'd for the Service of *Ireland*, nor "suffer themselves to be disbanded, till their desires were "granted, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects should "be vindicated, and maintain'd. This Apology, or Vindication, being sign'd by many inferior Officers, the Parliament declared them to be Enemies to the State; and caused some

of

of them, who talked loudest, to be imprison'd. Upon which a new Address was made to their General; wherein they complain'd "how disdainfully they were used by the Parliament, "for whom they had ventured their lives, and lost their "Blood: that the Privileges which were due to them as Soldiers, and as Subjects, were taken from them; and when "they complain'd of the Injuries they receiv'd, they were "abused, beaten, and dragg'd into Goals.

HEREUPON, the General was prevailed with to write a Letter to a Member of Parliament, who shew'd it to the House; in which he took notice of several Petitions, which were prepared in the City of *London*, and some other Counties of the Kingdom, against the Army; and "that it was look'd "upon as very strange, that the Officers of the Army might "not be permitted to petition, when so many Petitions were "receiv'd against them; and that he much doubted that the "Army might draw to a Rendezvous, and think of some other "way for their own vindication.

THIS manner of proceeding by the Soldiers, but especially the General seeming to be of their mind, troubled the Parliament; yet they resolv'd not to suffer their Counsels to be censured, or their Actions controled, by those who were retained by them, and who lived upon their pay. And therefore, after many high Expressions against the presumption of several Officers and Soldiers, they declared, "that whosoever should "refuse, being commanded, to engage himself in the Service "of *Ireland*, should be disbanded. The Army was resolv'd not to be subdued in their first so declared Resolution, and fell into a direct and high Mutiny, and call'd for the Arrears of pay due to them; which they knew where and how to Levy for themselves; nor could they be in any degree appeased, till the Declaration that the Parliament had made against them, was rased out of the Journal Book of both Houses, and a Months pay sent to them; nor were they satisfied with all this, but talked very loud, "that they knew "how to make themselves as considerable as the Parliament, "and where to have their Service better valued, and rewarded; which so frightened those at *Westminster*, that they appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, whereof some were very acceptable to the Army, to go to them, and to treat with a Committee chosen of the Officers of the Army, upon the best expedients that might be applied to the composing these distempers. Now the Army thought it self upon a Level with the Parliament, when they had a Committee of the one authorized to treat with a Committee of the other; which likewise raised the Spirits of *Fairfax*, who had never thought of opposing or disobeying the Parliament; and disposed him

And to their General.

The Parliament's Declaration thereupon.

Afterward raised out of their Book.

A Committee appointed by the two Houses to treat with a Committee of the Army.

to

to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the Army, when he saw it was so much complied with and submitted to by all Men.

*Cromwells
behaviour at
first in these
Mutinies.*

CROMWELL, hitherto, carried himself with that rare dissimulation (in which sure he was a very great Master) that he seem'd exceedingly incensed against this Insolence of the Soldiers; was still in the House of Commons when any such Addresses were made; and inveighed bitterly against the presumption, and had been the cause of the Commitment, of some of the Officers. He propos'd, " that the General might be sent down to the Army; who, he said, " would conjure down this mutinous Spirit quickly; and he was so easily believ'd, that he himself was sent once or twice to compose the Army; where after he had stay'd two or three days, he would again return to the House, and complain heavily " of the great Licence that was got into the Army; that, for his own part, by the Artifice of his Enemies, and of those who desired that the Nation should be again imbrew'd in Blood, he was render'd so odious unto them, that they had a purpose to kill him, if, upon some discovery made to him, he had not escap'd out of their hands. And in these, and the like Discourses, when he spake of the Nation's being to be involv'd in new troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear the most afflicted Man in the world with the sense of the Calamities which were like to ensue. But, as many of the wiser sort had long discover'd his wicked intentions, so his hypocrisy could not longer be concealed. The most active Officers and Agitators were known to be his own Creatures, and such who neither did, nor would do, any thing but by his direction. So that it was privately resolv'd by the principal Persons of the House of Commons, that when he came the next day into the House, which he seldom omitted to do, they would send him to the Tower; presuming, that if they had once sever'd his Person from the Army, they should easily reduce it to its former temper and obedience. For they had not the least jealousy of the General *Fairfax*, whom they knew to be a perfect Presbyterian in his Judgement; and that *Cromwell* had the Ascendant over him purely by his Dissimulation, and pretence of Conscience and Sincerity. There is no doubt *Fairfax* did not then, nor long after, believe, that the other had those wicked designs in his heart against the King, or the least imagination of disobeying the Parliament.

THIS purpose of seizing upon the Person of *Cromwell* could not be carried so secretly, but that he had notice of it; and the very next morning after he had so much lamented his desperate misfortune in having lost all reputation, and credit, and authority in the Army, and that his life would be in danger

if he were with it, when the House expected every minute his presence, they were inform'd that he was met out of the Town by break of day, with one Servant only, on the way to the Army; where he had appointed a Rendezvous of some Regiments of the Horse, and from whence he writ a Letter to the House of Commons, "that having the night before receiv'd a Letter from some Officers of his own Regiment, that the jealousy the Troops had conceiv'd of him, and of his want of kindness towards them, was much abated, so that they believ'd, if he would be quickly present with them, they would all in a short time by his advice be reclaim'd, upon this he had made all the haste he could; and did find that the Soldiers had been abused by misinformation; and that he hoped to discover the Fountain from whence it Sprung; and in the mean time desired that the General, and the other Officers in the House, and such as remain'd about the Town, might be presently sent to their Quarters; and that he believ'd it would be very necessary in order to the suppression of the late distempers, and for the prevention of the like for the time to come, that there might be a general Rendezvous of the Army; of which the General would best consider, when he came down; which he wish'd might be hasten'd. It was now to no purpose to discover what they had formerly intended, or that they had any jealousy of a Person who was out of their reach; and so they expected a better conjuncture; and in few days after, the General and the other Officers left the Town, and went to their Quarters.

THE same Morning that Cromwell left London, Cornet ^{Corner} Joyce, who was one of the Agitators in the Army, a Taylor, ^{Joyce said upon the} a fellow who had two or three years before serv'd in a very inferior employment in Mr Hollis's House, came with a Squad ^{King as} of fifty Horse to Holmby, where the King was, about June 3. ^{Holmby} the break of day; and without any interruption by the Guard ^{1647.} of Horse and Foot which waited there, came with two or three more, and knock'd at the King's Chamber door, and said "he must presently speak with the King. His Majesty, ^{by Mr. Oxen} surpris'd with the manner of it, rose out of his bed; and, half dress'd, caus'd the door to be open'd, which he knew otherwise would be quickly broken open; they who waited in the Chamber being Persons of whom he had little knowledge, and less confidence. As soon as the door was open'd, ^{Joyce,} and two or three more, came into the Chamber, with their Hats off, and Pistols in their hands. Joyce told the King, ^{that was present viz.} "that he must go with him. His Majesty asked, "whither? he answer'd, "to the Army. The King asked him, "where the Army was? he said, "they would carry him to the Place where it was. His Majesty asked, "by what Authority?"

N.B. There is a much fuller & somewhat different Account given of this Affair by Mr. Wood in his Hist. of the Civil War, Vol. II. p. 80, 81. who says he had from one of the King's Officers, viz. Herbert one of the Spies of the King's Chamber.

"thority they came? *Joyce* answer'd, "by this; and shew'd him his Pistol; and desir'd his Majesty, "that he would cause "himself to be dress'd, because it was necessary they should "make hast. None of the other Soldiers spoke a word; and *Joyce*, saying the bluntness, and positiveness of the few words he spoke, behaved himself not rudely. The King said, "he "could not stir before he spoke with the Committee to "whom he had been deliver'd, and who were trusted by the "Parliament; and so appointed one of those who waited upon him, to call them. The Committee had been as much surpris'd with the noise as the King had been, and quickly came to his Chamber, and asked *Joyce*, "whether he had any "Orders from the Parliament? he said No. "From the General? No. What Authority he came by? to which he made no other Answer, than he had made to the King, and held up his Pistol. They said, "they would write to the "Parliament to know their pleasure; *Joyce* said, "they might "do so, but the King must presently go with him. Colonel *Brown* had sent for some of the Troops who were appointed for the King's Guard, but they came not; he spoke then with the Officer who Commanded those who were at that time upon the Guard, and found that they would make no resistance: so that after the King had made all the delays he conveniently could, without giving them cause to believe that he was resolv'd not to have gone, which had been to no purpose, and after he had broken his Fast, he went into his Coach, attended by the few Servants who were put about him, and went whither Cornet *Joyce* would Conduct him; there being no part of the Army known to be within twenty Miles of *Holmbury* at that time; and that which administer'd most cause of apprehension, was, that those Officers who were of the Guard, declared "that the Squadron which was Commanded by *Joyce*, consisted not of Soldiers of any one Regiment, but were Men of several Troops, and several Regiments, drawn together under him, who was not the proper Officer; so that the King did in truth believe, that their purpose was to carry him to some place where they might more conveniently murder him. The Committee quickly gave notice to the Parliament of what had pass'd, with all the circumstances; and it was receiv'd with all imaginable consternation; nor could any Body imagine what the purpose and resolution was.

The Committee gives notice of it.

The General's Account of it to the Parliament.

NOR were they at the more ease, or in any degree pleas'd with the Account they receiv'd from the General himself; who by his Letter, inform'd them; "that the Soldiers at "*Holmbury* had brought the King from thence; and that his Majesty lay the next Night at Colonel *Assheton's* House, "and

*at Hitchinbrooke near Huntingdon.
by P^r W^m Dugdale in P^r that W^m p. 240.

"and would be the next day at *New-Market*: that the Ground thereof was from an Apprehension of some strength gathered to force the King from thence; whereupon he had sent Colonel *Whaley's* Regiment to meet the King. He protested, "that his remove was without his consent, or of the Officers about him, or of the Body of the Army, and without their desire, or privy: that he would take care for the security of his Majesty's Person from danger; and assured the Parliament, "that the whole Army endeavour'd Peace, "and were far from opposing Presbytery, or affecting Independency, or from any purpose to maintain a Licentious freedom in Religion, or the Interest of any particular Party, "but were resolv'd to leave the absolute determination of all "to the Parliament.

It was upon the third of *June* that the King was taken from *Holmbury* by Cornet *Joyce*, well nigh a full year after he had deliver'd himself to the *Scots* at *Newark*; in all which time, the Army had been at leisure to contrive all ways to free it self from the Servitude of the Parliament, whilst the Presbyterians believ'd, that in spite of a few factious Independent Officers, it was entirely at their Devotion, and could never prove disobedient to their Commands; and those few wise Men, who discern'd the foul designs of those Officers, and by what degrees they stole the Hearts and Affections of the Soldiers, had not credit enough to be believ'd by their own Party. The joynt confidence of the unanimous Affection of the City of *London* to all their purposes, made them despise all opposition; but now, when they saw the King taken out of their hands in this manner, and with these circumstances, they found all their Measures broke by which they had form'd all their Counsels. And as this Letter from the General administer'd too much cause of Jealousy of what was to succeed, so a positive information about the same time by many Officers, confirm'd by a Letter which the Lord Mayor of *London* had receiv'd, that the whole Army was upon it's march, and would be in *London* the next day by noon, so distracted them that they appear'd besides themselves: however, they Voted, "that the Houses should sit all the next day, being *Sunday*; and that Mr *Marshall* should be there to pray for them. That the Committee of Safety should sit up all that Night to consider what was to be done: That the Lines of Communication should be strongly Guarded, and all the Train'd-bands of *London* should be drawn together upon pain of death. All Shops were shut up, and such a general Confusion over all the Town, and in the faces of all Men, as if the Army had already enter'd the Town. The Parliament writ a Letter to the General, desiring him, "that no part of

Distractions as well as well-minder up-on notice of the Army's coming towards London.

This was on June 11th or 12th by Dringdale p. 248. in his view p. 248.

Vol. III. Part. I.

** P^r W^m Dringdale in his that view p. 248. says W^m Strong & W^m Whifake, were added to W^m Marshall to pray & preach with y^e Company & that the Army according to their example appeared others & d^r vout to do y^e like in theirs.*

"the Army might come within five and twenty Miles of London; and that the King's Person might be deliver'd to the former Commissioners, who had attended upon his Majesty at *Holmbury*; and that Colonel *Roffiter*, and his Regiment, might be appointed for the Guard of his Person. The General return'd for Answer, "that the Army was come to *St Albans* before the desire of the Parliament came to his hands; but that, in Obedience to their Commands, he would advance no farther; and desir'd that a Month's pay might presently be sent for the Army. In which they desir'd not to gratify them; though as to the redelivery of the King to the former Commissioners, no other Answer was return'd, than "that they might rest assured, that all care should be taken for his Majesty's security.

From that time both *Cromwell* and *Ireton* appear'd in the Council of Officers, which they had never before done; and their Expostulations with the Parliament, begun to be more brisk, and contumacious than they had been. The King found himself at *Newmarket* attended by greater Troops and superior Officers; so that he was presently freed from any Subjection to Mr *Joyce*; which was no small satisfaction to him; and they who were about him appear'd Men of better Breeding than the former, and paid his Majesty all the respect imaginable, and seem'd to desire to please him in all things. All restraint was taken off from Persons resorting to him, and he saw every day the Faces of many who were grateful to him; and he no sooner desired that some of his Chaplains might have leave to attend upon him for his Devotion, but it was yielded to, and they who were named by him (who were Dr *Skeldon*, Dr *Morley*, Dr *Sandersson*, and Dr *Hammond*) were presently sent, and gave their attendance, and perform'd their Function at the ordinary hours, in their accustom'd Formalities; all Persons who had a mind to it, being suffer'd to be present, to his Majesty's infinite satisfaction; who begun to believe that the Army was not so much his Enemy as it was reported to be; and the Army had sent an Address to him full of protestation of Duty, and besought him "that he would be content, for some time, to "reside among them, until the Affairs of the Kingdom were "put into such a Posture as he might find all things to his "own content, and security; which they infinitely desir'd to see as soon as might be; and to that purpose made daily instances to the Parliament. In the mean time his Majesty sat still, or remov'd to such places as were most convenient for the March of the Army; being in all places as well provided for and Accommodated, as he had used to be in any Progress; the best Gentlemen of the several Counties through which

His Majesty
removes ac-
cording to the
marches of
the Army.

*R. B. P. W. Dugdale in Ry
that view. p. 240.
says. Ket and Ireton
he removed to
St Albans on June 9
got to Newmarket.*

** R. B. P. W. Dugdale in Ry that view. in the margin of p. 24
by Chaplain without leave being permitted to attend him & at
the Duke of Richmond on July 9.*

which he pass'd, daily resorted to him, without distinction; he was attended by some of his old Trusty Servants in the places nearest his Person; and that which gave him most encouragement to believe that they meant well, was, that in the Army's Address to the Parliament, they desir'd "that care might be taken for settling the King's Rights, according to "the several Professions they had made in their Declarations; "and that the Royal Party might be treated with more Candour, and less Rigour; and many good Officers who had serv'd his Majesty faithfully, were Civilly receiv'd by the Officers of the Army, and liv'd quietly in their Quarters; which they could not do any where else; which rais'd a great Reputation to the Army, throughout the Kingdom, and as much Reproach upon the Parliament.

THE Parliament at this time had recover'd its Spirit, when they saw the Army did not march nearer towards them, and not only stopp'd at *St Albans*, but was drawn back to a farther distance; which perswaded them, that their General was displeased with the former advance: and so they proceeded with all passion, and vigour, against those principal Officers, who, they knew, contriv'd all these Proceedings. They published Declarations to the Kingdom, "that they desir'd to bring the "King in honour to his Parliament; which was their business from the beginning, and that he was detain'd Prisoner "against his Will in the Army; and that they had great reason to apprehend the safety of his Person. The Army, on the other hand, declared "that his Majesty was neither "Prisoner, nor detain'd against his Will; and appeal'd to "his Majesty himself, and to all his Friends, who had liberty "to repair to him, whether he had not more liberty, and was "not treated with more respect, since he came into the Army "than he had been at *Holmby*, or during the time he remain'd "in those places, and with that retinue that the Parliament "had appointed? The City seem'd very unanimously devoted *Transactions in the City upon these occasions.* to the Parliament, and incens'd against the Army; and seem'd resolute, not only with their Train'd-bands and Auxiliary Regiments to assist, and defend the Parliament, but appointed some of the Old Officers who had serv'd under the Earl of *Essex*, and had been disbanded under the new Model, as *Waller*, *Massey*, and others, to lift new Forces; towards which there was not like to be want of Men out of their old Forces, and such of the King's as would be glad of the employment. There was nothing they did really fear so much, as that the Army would make a firm conjunction with the King, and unite with his Party, of which there was so much shew; and many unskilful Men, who wish'd it, bragg'd too much; and therefore the Parliament sent a Committee to his Majesty, with an

Address of another Style than they had lately used, with many professions of Duty ; and declaring, "that if he was not, in "all respects, treated as he ought to be, and as he desired, it "was not Their fault, who desired he might be at full liberty, "and do what he would ; hoping that the King would have been induced to desire to come to *London*, and to make complaint of the Army's having taken him from *Holmbury* ; by which they believ'd the King's Party would be disabused, and withdraw their hopes of any good from the Army ; and then, they thought, they should be hard enough for them.

THE King was in great doubt how to carry himself ; he thought himself so barbarously used by the Presbyterians, and had so ill an opinion of all the principal Persons who govern'd them, that he had no mind to put himself into their hands. On the other side, he was far from being satisfied with the Army's good intentions towards him ; and though many of his Friends were suffer'd to resort to him, they found that their being long about him, would not be acceptable ; and though the Officers and Soldiers appear'd, for the most part, civil to him, they were all at least as vigilant, as the former Guards had been ; so that he could not, without great difficulty, have got from them if he had desired it. *Fairfax* had been with him, and kiss'd his hand, and made such Professions as he could well utter ; which was with no advantage in the delivery ; his Authority was of no use, because he resign'd himself entirely to *Cromwell* ; who had been, and *Ireton* likewise, with the King, without either of them offering to kiss his hand ; otherwise, they behaved themselves with good manners towards him. His Majesty used all the Address he could towards them to draw some promise from them, but they were so reserv'd, and stood so much upon their Guard, and used so few words, that nothing could be concluded from what they said : they excused themselves "for not seeing his Majesty often, upon "the great jealousies the Parliament had of them, towards "whom they profess'd all fidelity. The Persons who resorted to his Majesty, and brought Advices from others who durst not yet offer to come themselves, brought several opinions to him ; some thinking the Army would deal sincerely with his Majesty, others expecting no better from them than they afterwards perform'd : so that the King well concluded that he would neither reject the Parliament Addresses by any neglect, nor disoblige the Army by appearing to have jealousy of them, or a desire to be out of their hands ; which he could hardly have effected, if he had known a better place to have resorted to. So he desired both Parties "to hasten their Consultations, that the Kingdom might enjoy Peace and Happiness ; "in which he should not be without a share ; and he would
"pray

"pray to God to bring this to pass as soon as was possible.

THE News of the King's being in the Army, of his freedom in the exercise of his Religion, which he had been so long without, and that some of his Servants, with whom he was well pleased, had liberty to attend upon him, made every Body abroad, as well as those at home, hope well; and the King himself writ to the Queen, as if he thought his condition much better than it had been among the *Scots*. *Sir John Berkley* after his Surrender of *Exeter*, and the spending his six Months allowed by the Articles to sollicite his Affairs where he would, had Transported himself into *France*, and waited upon the Queen at *Paris*, being still a Menial Servant to her Majesty, and having a Friend in that Court that govern'd, and loved him better than any Body else did. As soon as the reports came thither of the King's being with the Army, he repeated many Discourses he had held with the Officers of the Army, whilst they treated with him of the delivery of *Exeter*; how he had told them, "upon how slippery ground they stood; that the Parliament, when they had served their turn, would dismiss them with reproach, and give them very small rewards for the great Service they had done for them; that they should do well, seasonably to think of a safe retreat, which could be no where but under the Protection of the King; who by their Courage was brought very low; and if they raised him again, he must owe it all to them; and his Posterity, as well as himself, and all his Party, must for ever acknowledge it; by which they would raise their Fortunes, as well as their Fame, to the greatest degree Men could aime at; which, he said, made such an impression upon this and that Officer, whom he named, "that they told him at parting, that they should never forget what he had said to them; and that they already observ'd that every day produced somewhat that would put them in mind of it. In a word, "he had foretold all that was since come to pass, and he was most confident, that, if he were now with them, he should be welcome, and have Credit enough to bring them to reason, and to do the King great Service; and offer'd, without any delay, to make the Journey. The Queen believ'd all he said; and they who did not, were very willing he should make the experiment; for he that lov'd him best, was very willing to be without him; and so receiving the Queen's Letter of Recommendation of him to the King, *Berkley* who knew him very little, and that little not without some prejudice, he left *Paris*, and made all possible hast into *England*. *John Ashburnham*, who was driven from the King by the *Scots* after he had Conducted his Majesty to them, had Transported himself into *France*, and was at this time residing

Sir John Berkley sent from the Queen to the King.

Mr Ashburnham comes from France to the King.

in *Rouen*; having found, upon his Address to the Queen at *Paris* upon his first Arrival, that his abode in some other place would not be ungrateful to her Majesty, and so he removed to *Rouen*; where he had the society of many who had serv'd the King in the most eminent Qualifications. When he heard where the King was, and that there was not the same restraint that had been formerly, he resolv'd to make an adventure to wait on him; having no reason to doubt but that his Presence would be very acceptable to the King; and though the other Envoy from *Paris*, and He, did not make their Journey into *England* together, nor had the least Communication with each other, being in truth of several Parties and Purposes, yet they Arriv'd there, and at the Army, near the same time.

Sir John Berkley and Mr Ashburnham's Transactions with some Officers of the Army.

BERKLEY first applied himself to those subordinate Officers with whom he had some acquaintance at *Exeter*, and they informing their Superiors of his Arrival, and Application, they were well pleas'd that he was come. They were well acquainted with his Talent, and knew his Foible, that, by flattering and commending, they might govern him; and that there was no danger of any deep design from his contrivance; and so they permitted him freely to attend the King, about whose Person he had no Title, or Relation, which required any constant waiting upon him.

ASHBURNHAM had, by some Friends, a recommendation both to *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*, who knew the Credit he had with the King, and that his Majesty would be very well pleas'd to have his attendance, and look upon it as a Testimony of their respect to him. They knew likewise that he was an implacable Enemy to the *Scots*, and no Friend to the other Presbyterians, and though he had some ordinary craft in insinuating, he was of no deep and piercing Judgement to discover what was not unwarily expos'd, and a free Speaker of what he imagin'd: So they likewise left him at liberty to repair to the King; and these two Gentlemen came near about the same time to his Majesty, when the Army was drawing together, with a purpose, which was not yet publish'd, of marching to *London*; his Majesty being still Quarter'd in those places which were more proper for that purpose.

THEY were both welcome to his Majesty, the one bringing a special recommendation from the Queen, and, to make himself the more valuable, assuring his Majesty "that he was sent for by the Officers of the Army, as one they would trust, and that they had receiv'd him with open Armes; and, without any scruple, gave him leave to wait upon him: The other, needed no recommendation, the King's own inclinations disposing him to be very gracious to him; and so his Majesty wish'd them "to correspond with each other, and "to

“to converse with his several Friends, who did not yet think
 “fit to resort to him; and to receive their advice; to discover
 “as much as they could of the Intentions of both Parties, and
 “impart what was fit to the King, till, upon a farther disco-
 “very, his Majesty might better judge what to do. These
 two were the principal Agents (they conferring with all his
 Majesty's Friends, and, as often as they desired, with the Of-
 ficers of the Army) upon whose Information, and Advice,
 his Majesty principally depended, though they rarely con-
 ferr'd together with the same Persons, and never with any of
 the Officers, who pretended not to trust one another enough
 to speak with that freedom before each other, as they would
 to one of them; and their acquaintance among the Officers
 not being principally with the same Men, their Informations
 and Advices were often very different, and more perplexed
 than informed his Majesty.

THE very high Contests between the Parliament and the Army, in which neither side could be perswaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their asperity, made many Prudent Men believe that both sides would, in the end, be willing to make the King the Umpire; which neither of them ever intended to do. The Parliament thought that their Name and Authority, which had carried them through so great undertakings, and reduced the whole Kingdom to their Obedience, could not be overpower'd by their own Army, raised and paid by themselves, and to whose Dictates the People would never submit. They thought the King's Presence amongst them, gave them all their present Reputation; and were not without apprehension that the Ambition of some of the Officers, and their Malice to the Parliament, when they saw that they could obtain their ends no other way, might dispose them to an entire Conjunction with the King's Party and Interest; and then, all the Penalties of Treason, Rebellion, and Trespases, must be discharged at their costs; and therefore they labour'd, by all the publick and private means they could, to perswade the King to own his being detain'd Prisoner by the Army against his Will, or to withdraw himself by some way from them, and repair to *White-Hall*; and, in either of those Cases, they did not doubt, first, to divide the Army (for they still believ'd the General fast to them) and by degrees to bring them to reason, and to be disbanded, as many as were not necessary for the Service of *Ireland*; and then, having the King to themselves, and all his Party being obnoxious to those penalties for their Delinquency, they should be well able, by gratifying some of the greatest Persons of the Nobility with Immunity and Indemnity, to settle the Government in such a manner, as to be well recom-
 E 4 pens'd

performed for all the Adventures they had made, and hazards they had run.

ON the other hand, the Army had no dread of the Authority and Power of the Parliament; which they knew had been so far prostituted, that it had lost most of its Reverence with the People. But it had great apprehension, that, by its conjunction with the City, it might indeed recover Credit with the Kingdom, and withhold the pay of the Army, and thereby make some division amongst them; and if the Person of the King should be likewise with them, and thereby his Party should likewise joyn with them, they should be to begin their work again, or to make their Peace with those who were as much provoked by them as the King himself had been. And therefore they were sensible that they enjoyed a present benefit by the King's being with them, and by their treating him with the outward respect that was due to his Majesty, and the civilities they made profession of towards all his Party, and the permission of his Chaplains, and other Servants, to resort to him; and cultivated all these Artifices with great Address, suppressing, or discountenancing the Tyranny of the Presbyterians in the Country Committees, and all other places, where they exercised notable rigour against all who had been of the King's Party, or not enough of theirs (for Neuters found no excuse for being of no Party) when they found it fit to make any lusty Declaration against the Parliament, and exclaim against their Tyrannical proceedings against the Army, they always inserted somewhat that might look like Candour and Tenderness towards the King's Party, complain'd of "the Affront, and Indignity done to the Army by the Parliament's not observing the Articles which had been made upon Surrender of Garrisons, but proceeding against those on whose behalf those Articles were made, with more severity than was agreeable to justice, and to the intention of the Articles; whereby the Honour and Faith of the Army suffer'd, and was complain'd of; all which, they said, they would have remedied. Whereupon many hoped that they should be excused from making any Compositions, and entertain'd such other imaginations as pleased themselves, and the other Party well liked; knowing they could demolish all those Structures as soon as they receiv'd no benefit by them themselves.

THE King had, during the time he stay'd at *Holmbury*, writ to the House of Peers, that his Children might have leave to come to him, and to reside for some time with him. From the time that *Oxford* had been Surrender'd, upon which the Duke of *Tork* had fallen into their hands, for they would by no means admit that he should have liberty to go to such place

place as the King should direct, which was very earnestly pressed, and insisted on by the Lords of the Council there, as long as they could; but appointed their Committee to receive him with all respect, and to bring him to *London*; from that time, I say, the Duke of *Tork* was committed to the care of the Earl of *Northumberland*, together with the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Princess, who had been by the King left under the Tuition of the Countess of *Dorset*, but from the Death of that Countess the Parliament had presumed, that they might be sure to keep them in their power, to put them into the Custody of the Lady *Verre*, an old Lady much in their favour, but not at all Ambitious of that Charge, though there was a competent Allowance assign'd for their support. They were now remov'd from her, and placed all together with the Earl of *Northumberland*, who receiv'd, and treated them, in all respects, as was suitable to their Birth, and his own Duty; but could give them no more liberty to go abroad, than he was, in his Instructions from the Parliament, permitted to do; and they had absolutely refused to gratify the King in that particular; of which his Majesty no sooner took notice to *Fairfax*, than he writ a Letter to the Parliament, "that the King much desir'd to have the sight and company of his Children, and that if they might not be allow'd to be longer with him, that at least they might dine with him; and he sent them word that, on such a day, "the King, who attended the motion of the Army, and was Quarter'd only where they pleased, would dine at *Maidenhead*. There his Children met him, to his infinite content and joy; and he being to Quarter and stay some time at *Caversham*, a House of the Lord *Crown's*, near *Reading*, his Children were likewise suffer'd to go thither, and remain'd with him two days; which was the greatest satisfaction the King could receive; and the receiving whereof, he imputed to the Civility of the General, and the good disposition of the Army; which made so much the more impression upon him, in that he had never made any one Proposition in which he had been gratified, where the Presbyterian Spirit had power to deny it.

In the House of Commons, which was now the Scene of all the Action that displeased and incensed the Army (for the House of Peers was thrunk into so inconsiderable a Number, and their Persons not considerable after the Death of the Earl of *Essex*, except those who were affected to, or might be disposed by the Army) they were wholly guided by *Hollis*, and *Stapleton*, *Lewis*, and *Glyn*, who had been very Popular and Notorious from the beginning, and by *Waller*, and *Massey*, and *Brown*, who had Serv'd in Commands in the Army, and perform'd at some times very signal Service, and were exceedingly

The King
allow'd to
see his Children
as
Maiden-
head and
Caversham.

ingly below'd in the City, and two or three others who follow'd their Dictates, and were subservient to their Directions. These were all Men of Parts, Interest, and signal Courage, and did not only heartily abhor the intentions which they discern'd the Army to have, and that it was wholly to be disposed according to the designs of *Cromwell*, but had likewise declared Animosities against the Persons of the most active and powerful Officers; as *Hollis* had one day, upon a very hot debate in the House, and some rude expressions which fell from *Ireton*, perswaded him to walk out of the House with him, and then told him, "that he should presently go over the Water and Fight with him. *Ireton* replying, "his Conscience would not suffer him to fight a Duel: *Hollis*, in choler, pulled him by the Nose; telling him, "if "his Conscience would keep him from giving Men satirical faction, it should keep him from provoking them. This affront to the third Person of the Army, and to a Man of the most Virulent, Malicious, and Revengeful Nature of all the Pack, so incensed the whole Party, that they were resolv'd one way or other to be rid of him, who had that power in the House, and that Reputation abroad, that when he could not absolutely controule their designs, he did so obstruct them, that they could not advance to any conclusion.

*The Army
impeach eleven
Members
of the House
of Commons.*

THEY resorted therefore to an expedient, which, they had observ'd, by the Conduct of those very Men against whom they meant to apply it, had brought to pass all that they desired; and, in the Council of Officers, prepared an impeachment of High Treason in general Terms against Mr. *Hollis*, and the Persons mention'd before, and others, to the number of eleven Members of the House of Commons. This impeachment twelve Officers of the Army, Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, and Captains, presented to the House; and within few days after, when they saw the same Members still inveigh against and arraign their proceedings, the General and Officers writ a Letter to the House, "that they would "appoint fit Persons on their and the Kingdom's behalf, to "make good the charge against those Members whom they "had accused; and that they desired, that those Members impeach'd might be forthwith suspended from sitting in the "House; since it could not be thought fit that the same Persons who had so much injured and provoked the Army, "should sit Judges of their own Actions. This was an Arrow that the House of Commons did not expect would have been shot out of that Quiver; and though they were unspeakably dismay'd, and distracted with this presumption, they answer'd positively, "that they neither would, nor could, sequester "those Members from the House, who had never said, or "done

"done any thing in the House worthy of Censure, till proof
 "were made of such particulars as might render them guilty.
 But the Officers of the Army reply'd, "that they could prove
 "them guilty of such practices in the House, that it would
 "be just in the House to suspend them: that by the Laws of
 "the Land, and the Precedents of Parliament, the Lords had,
 "upon the very presentation of a general Accusation without
 "being reduced in form, sequester'd from their House and
 "committed the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Arch-Bishop of
 "*Canterbury*; and therefore they must press, and insist upon
 "the suspending at least of those accused Members from be-
 "ing present in the House, where they stood impeach'd; and
 "without this, they said, the Army would not be satisfied.
 However the House of Commons seem'd still resolute, the
 accused Members themselves, who best knew their temper,
 thought it safer for them to retire, and by forbearing to appear
 in the House, to allay the heat of the present Contest.

UPON this so palpable Declension of Spirit in the House,
 the Army seem'd much quieter, and resolv'd to set other Ag-
 ents on their work, that they might not appear too busy and
 active upon their own concernment. It is very true that the
 City, upon whose Influence the Parliament much depended,
 appear'd now entirely Presbyterian; the Court of Aldermen,
 and Common Council, consisted chiefly of Men of that Spi-
 rit; the Militia of the City was committed to Commissioners
 carefully and factiously chosen of that Party; all those of an-
 other temper having been put out of those Trusts, at or about
 the time that the King was deliver'd up by the *Scots*, when the
 Officers of the Army were content that the Presbyterians
 should believe, that the whole power of the Kingdom was in
 them; and that they might settle what Government they
 pleas'd: If there remain'd any Persons in any of those im-
 ployments in the City, it was by their dissimulation, and pre-
 tending to have other Affections; most of those who were
 notorious to be of any other Faction in Religion, had been
 put out; and liv'd as neglected and discountenanced Men;
 who seem'd rather to depend upon the Clemency, and Indul-
 gence of the State, for their particular liberty in the exercise
 of that Religion they adhered to, than to have any hope or
 ambition to be again admitted into any share, or part in the
 Government: yet, after all this dissimulation, *Cromwell* and
Ireton well knew, that the multitude of inferior People were
 at their disposal, and would appear in any conjuncture they
 should think convenient; and that many Aldermen and sub-
 stantial Citizens were quiet, and appear'd not to contradict or
 oppose the Presbyterians, only by their directions; and would
 be ready upon their call. And now, when they saw those
 leading

*The temper
 of the City
 and the
 Changes of
 their Militia
 at this time.*

leading Men, who had govern'd the Parliament, prosecuted by the Army, and that they forbore to come to the House, there flocked together great Numbers of the lowest, and most inferior People, to the Parliament, with Petitions of several Natures, both with reference to Religion, and to the Civil Government; with the noise and clamour whereof, the Parliament was so offended and disturbed, that they made an Ordinance, "that it should be Criminal to gather, and solicit the Subscriptions of hands to Petitions. But this Order so offended all parties, that they were compell'd, within two days, to revoke it, and to leave all Men to their natural Liberty. Whilst this Confusion was in the City and Parliament, the Commissioners, which had been sent to the Army to treat with the Officers, had no better success; but return'd with the positive and declared Resolution of the Army, "that a Declaration should be publish'd by the Parliament against the coming in of Foreign Force: for they apprehended, or rather were willing that the People should apprehend, a new Combination by the Scots: "that the pay of the Army should be put into a constant Course, and all Persons who had received Money, should be called to an account: That the Militia of London should be put into the hands of Persons well affected, and those who had been formerly trusted: that all Persons imprison'd for pretended Misdemeanours, by Order of Parliament, or their Committees, might be set at Liberty; and, if upon tryal they should be found Innocent, that they might have good Reparation. And they particularly mention'd *John Lilburn*, *Overton*, and other Anabaptists and Fanatics, who had been committed by the Parliament for many Seditious Meetings, under pretence of Exercise of their Religion, and many insolent Actions against the Government. Upon the report of these demands, the Parliament grew more enraged; and Voted, "that the yielding to the Army in these particulars, would be against their Honour, and their Interest, and destructive to their Privileges; with many expressions against their presumption, and insolence: yet, when a new Rabble of Petitioners demanded, with loud Cries, most of the same things, they were willing to compound with them; and consented that the Militia of the City of London should be put into such hands as the Army should desire.

THE Militia of the City had been in the beginning of May, shortly after the King's being brought to *Holmby*, settled with the consent, and upon the desire, of the Common Council, by Ordinance of Parliament, in the hands of Commissioners, who were generally of the Presbyterian Party, they who were of other inclinations being remov'd; and, as

is

is said before, seem'd not displeased at their disgrace; and now, when upon the Declaration and Demands of the Army, seconded by clamorous Petitions, they saw this Ordinance reversed, in *July*, without so much as consulting with the Common Council according to custome, the City was exceedingly startled; and said, "that if the Imperious Command of the Army, could prevail with the Parliament to reverse such an Ordinance as that of the Militia, they had reason to apprehend they might as well repeal the other Ordinances for the security of Money, or for the purchase of Bishops and Church Lands, or whatsoever else that was the proper security of the Subject. And therefore they caused a Petition to be prepared in the name of the City, to be presented by the two Sheriffs, and others deputed by the Common Council to that purpose. But, before they were ready, many thousands, Apprentices and young Citizens, brought Petitions to the Parliament; in which they said, "that the Command of the Militia of the City was the Birth-right of the City, and belonged to them by several Charters which had been confirm'd in Parliament; for defence whereof, they said, they had ventur'd their Lives as far and as frankly as the Army had done; and therefore, they desir'd that the Ordinance of Parliament of the fourth of *May*, which had passed with their consent, might stand inviolable. They first presented their Petition to the House of Peers, who immediately revoked their late Ordinance of *July*, and confirm'd their former of *May*; and sent it down to the Commons for their consent; who durst not deny their concurrence, the Apprentices behaving themselves so insolently, that they would scarce suffer the door of the House of Commons to be shut; and some of them went into the House.

AND in this manner the Ordinance was reversed that had been made at the desire of the Army, and the other of *May* ratified and confirm'd; which was no sooner done than the Parliament adjourn'd till *Friday*, that they might have two or three days to consider how they should behave themselves, and prevent the like violences hereafter. The Army had quickly notice of these extraordinary proceedings, and the General writ a very sharp Letter to the Parliament from *Bedford*; upon this the General writ a very sharp Letter to the Parliament, in which he put them in mind, "how civilly the Army had complied with their desire, by removing to a greater distance, upon presumption that their own Authority would have been able to have secured them from any rudeness, and violence of the People; which it was now evident it could not do, by the unparallel'd violation of all their Privileges, on the *Monday* before, by a Multitude from the City, which had been encouraged by several Common Council

"Men

"Men, and other Citizens in Authority; which was an Act
 "so prodigious and horrid as must dissolve all Government,
 "if not severely and exemplarily chastised: that the Army
 "looked upon themselves as accountable to the Kingdom, if
 "this unheard of outrage, by which the Peace and settlement
 "of the Nation, and the relief of *Ireland*, had been so noto-
 "riously interrupted, should not be strictly examined, and
 "justice speedily done upon the Offenders. Upon *Friday*, to
 which both Houses had adjourn'd, the Members came to-
 gether, in as full Numbers as they had used to meet, there be-
 ing above one hundred and forty of the House of Commons;
 but, after they had sate some time in expectation of their
 Speaker, they were inform'd that he was gone out of the
 Town early that Morning; and they observ'd that *Sr Henry*
Vane, and some few other Members who used to concur with
 him, were likewise absent. The House of Peers found like-
 wise that the Earl of *Manchester*, their Speaker, had withdrawn
 himself, together with the Earl of *Northumbreland*, and some
 other Lords; but the Major part still remain'd there, full of
 Indignation against those who were absent, and who they all
 concluded were gone to the Army. Hereupon both Houses
 chose new Speakers; who accepted the Office; and the Com-
 mons presently voted, "that the eleven Members who stood
 "impeach'd by the Army, and had discontinued coming to
 "the House, should presently appear, and take their places.
 They made an Ordinance of Parliament, by which a Com-
 mittee of safety was appointed to joyn with the City Militia,
 and had Authority to raise Men for the defence of the Parlia-
 ment; which they appear'd so vigorously resolv'd on, that no
 Man in the Houses, or in the City, seem'd to intend any thing
 else. The News of this roused up the Army, and the Ge-
 neral presently sent a good Party of Horse into *Windsor*, and
 marched himself to *Uxbridge*, and appointed a general Ren-
 dezvous for the whole Army upon *Hounslow* Heath, within
 two days; when and where there appear'd twenty thousand
 Foot and Horse, with a Train of Artillery, and all other
 provisions proportionable to such an Army.

The two
 Speakers,
 with other
 Members of
 the two Hou-
 ses, with-
 drew to the

Both Hou-
 ses chose new
 Speakers;
 and their
 Vices.

The Earl of Wilton
 of Yorkham by the
 House of Lords
 Mr Henry Belham
 chose by the Commons

Rendezvous
 of the Army
 appointed on
 Hounslow
 Heath, and
 the King re-
 moved to
 Hampton
 Court.

AS SOON as the Rendezvous was appointed at *Hounslow*
 Heath, at the same time the King removed to *Hampton*
 Court; which was prepared, and put into as good order for
 his reception, as could have been done in the best time. The
 Houses seem'd for some time to retain their Spirit and Vigour,
 and the City talked of lifting Men, and defending themselves,
 and not suffering the Army to approach nearer to them; but,
 when they knew the day of the Rendezvous, those in both
 Houses who had been too weak to carry any thing, and so had
 look'd on whilst such Votes were pass'd as they liked not and
 could

* The Earl of Warwick, Salisbury, Kent & Mulgrave, the
 Viscount Say & Sele, the Lord Grey of Werke, Wharton & Howard
 of Effingham & about 40 of the House of Commons say Sir
 Dugdale in his Hist. p. 249.

could not oppose, now when their Friend the Army was so near, recover'd their Spirits, and talk'd very loud; and persuaded the rest, "to think in time of making their peace with the Army, that could not be withstood. And the City grew every day more appalled, irresolute, and confounded, one Man proposing this, and another somewhat contrary to that, like Men amazed and distracted. When the Army met <sup>Both Speak-
upon Hounslow Heath at their Rendezvous, the Speakers of</sup> <sup>ers, and the
other Mem-
bers, appear
in the Army
on Houn-
slow Heath.</sup> both Houses, who had privately before met with the Chief Officers of the Army, appear'd there with their Maces, and such other Members as accompanied them; complaining to the General, "that they had not freedom at Westminster, but "were in danger of their lives by the Tumults; and appealed to the Army for their protection.

THIS looked like a new Act of Providence to vindicate the Army from all reproaches, and to justify them in all they had done, as absolutely done for the preservation of the Parliament and Kingdom. If this had been a retreat of *St. Harry Vane* and some other discontented Men, who were known to be Independents, and Fanatics in their opinions in Religion, and of the Army faction, who being no longer able to oppose the wisdom of the Parliament, had fled to their Friends for protection from Justice, they would have got no reputation, nor the Army been thought the better of for their Company; but neither of the Speakers were ever look'd upon as inclined to the Army; *Lenthall* was generally believ'd to have nominalice towards the King, and not to be without good inclinations to the Church; and the Earl of *Manchester*, who was Speaker of the House of Peers, was known to have all the prejudice imaginable against *Cromwell*; and had formerly accused him of want of Duty to the Parliament; and the other hated him above all Men, and desired to have taken away his life. The Earl of *Manchester*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, were the two Pillars of the Presbyterian Party; and that they two, with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and some other of the Lords, and some of the Commons, who had appear'd to disapprove all the proceedings of the Army, should now joyn with *St. Harry Vane*, and Appeal to the Army for protection, with that formality as if they had brought the whole Parliament with them, and had been entirely driven and forced away by the City, appear'd to every stander by so stupendous a thing, that it is not to this day understood otherwise, than that they were resolv'd to have their particular shares in the Treaty, which they believ'd the Chief Officers of the Army to have near concluded with the King. For that they never intended to put the whole power into the hands of the Army, nor had any kindness to, or confidence

*x. h. B. J. D. Dugdale in
Ly View p. 249 says.
that He having covered
of State of not turning
of money by threat-
red with an Impeach-
ment if he did not go
to the Army wth the rest.*

*H. B. says he evidenced in 1659 by having the child of Ly Baptized by
an Episcopalian Minister when Monk stood Godfather to it. & Mr.
Bradbury says in Ly Parish Records a sermon preached on 29th of
May 1715. p. 33.*

in the Officers thereof, was very apparent by their carriage and behaviour after, as well as before; and if they had continued together, considering how much the City was devoted to them, it is probable that the Army would not have used any force; which might have receiv'd a fatal repulse; but that some good Compromise might have been made by the Interposition of the King. But this Schism carried all the Reputation and Authority to the Army, and left none in the Parliament; for though it presently appear'd, that the Number of those who left the Houses was small in comparison of those who remain'd behind, and who proceeded with the same Vigour in declaring against the Army, and the City seem'd as resolute in putting themselves into a posture, and preparing for their defence, all their Works and Fortifications being still entire, so that they might have put the Army to great trouble if they had steadily pursued their Resolutions (which they did not seem in any degree to decline) yet this rent made all the accused Members, who were the Men of parts, and reputation to conduct their Counsels, to withdraw themselves upon the astonishment; some concealing themselves, till they had opportunity to make their Peace, and others withdrawing and transporting themselves beyond the Seas; whereof *Stapleton* died at *Calais* as soon as he Landed; and was denied Burial, upon imagination that he had died of the Plague: others remain'd a long time beyond the Seas; and, though they long after return'd, never were receiv'd into any trust in those times, nor in truth concurr'd, or acted in the publick Affairs, but retired to their own Estates, and liv'd very privately.

THE Chief Officers of the Army receiv'd the two Speakers, and the Members who accompanied them, as so many Angels sent from Heaven for their good; paid them all the respect imaginable, and profess'd all submission to them, as to the Parliament of *England*; and declared "that they would reestablish them in their full power, or perish in the attempt; took very particular care for their accommodations, before the General; and assign'd a Guard to wait upon them for their security; acquainted them with all their consultations; and would not presume to resolve any thing without their approbation, and they had too much modesty to think they could do amiss, who had prosper'd so much in all their undertakings. No time was lost in pursuing their Resolution to establish the Parliament again at *Westminster*; and finding that the rest of the Members continued still to sit there with the same Formality, and that the City did not abate any of their Spirit, they seem'd to make a halt, and to remain quiet, in expectation of a better understanding between them, upon the

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

65

Messages they every day sent to the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and Common Council (for of those at *Westminster* they took no notice) and Quarter'd their Army about *Brentford*, and *Hounslow*, *Twittenham*, and the adjacent Villages, without restraining any Provisions, which every day according to custom were carried to *London*, or doing the least Action that might disoblige, or displease the City; the Army being in truth under so excellent discipline, that no body could complain of any damage sustain'd by them, or any provocation by word or deed. However, in this calm, they sent over Colonel *Rainsborough* with a Brigade of Horse and Foot, and Cannon, at *Hampton Court*, to possess *Southwark*, and those works which secured that end of *London Bridge*; which he did with so little Noise, that in one Night's March, he found himself Master without any opposition, not only of the Borough of *Southwark*, but of all the Works and Forts which were to defend it; the Soldiers within, shaking hands with those without, and refusing to obey their Officers which were to Command them: So that the City, without knowing that any such thing was in agitation, found in the morning that all that Avenue to the Town was possessed by the Enemy; whom they were providing to resist on the other side, being as confident of this that they had lost, as of any Gate of the City.

THIS struck them dead; and put an end to all their Consultation for defence; and put other thoughts into their heads, how they might pacify those whom they had so much offended, and provoked; and how they might preserve their City from Plunder, and the fury of an enraged Army. They who had ever been of the Army party, and of late had shut themselves up, and not dared to walk the Streets for fear of the People, came now confidently amongst them, and mingled in their Councils; declared, "that the King and the Army were now agreed in all particulars, and that both Houses were now with the Army, and had presented themselves to the King; so that to oppose the Army would be to oppose the King and Parliament, and to incense them as much as the Army. Upon such confident discourses and insinuations from those with whom they would not have conversed, or given the least credit to, three days before, or rather upon the confusion and general distraction they were in, they sent six Aldermen and six Commoners to the General; who lamented ^{The City} and complain'd, "that the City should be suspected, that had ^{sends six Aldermen to} never acted any thing against the Parliament; and there- ^{the General,} fore, they desired him to forbear doing any thing that might ^{and submit,} be the occasion of a new War. But the General little consider'd this Message, and gave less countenance to the Messengers; but continued his slow marches towards the City:

Vol. III. Part I.

F

where.

whereupon they sent an humble Message to him, "that since
 "they understood that the reason of his march so near *London*
 "was to restore, and settle the Members (the Lords and Com-
 "mons) of Parliament to the Liberty and Privilege of sitting
 "securely in their several Houses (to which the City would
 "contribute all their power, and service) they prayed him,
 "with all submission, that he would be pleased to send such a
 "Guard of Horse and Foot as he thought to be sufficient for
 "that purpose; and that the Ports and all Passages should be
 "open to them; and they should do any thing else that his
 "Excellency would Command. To which, he made no other
 "Answer but "that he would have all the Forts of the West
 "side of the City to be deliver'd immediately to him; those
 "of the other side being already, as is said, in the hands of
Rainsborough and his other Officers. The Common Coun-
 "cil, that same Day and Night, upon the receipt of this Message,
 "without any pause return'd "that they would humbly sub-
 "mit to his Command; and that now, under Almighty God,
 "they did rely only upon his Excellency's honourable word
 "for their protection, and security. And so they caused their
 Militia to be forthwith drawn off from the Line, as well as
 out of the Forts, with all their Cannon and Ordnance; and
 the General appointed a better Guard to both. At *Hyde Park*
 the Mayor and Aldermen met him, and humbly congratulated
 his arrival; and besought him "to excuse what they had,
 "out of their good meaning and desire of Peace, done amiss;
 and as a Testimony of their Affection and Duty, the Mayor,
 on the behalf of the City, presented a great gold Cup to the
 General; which he sullenly refused to receive, and, with very
 little Ceremony, dismissed them.

*The General
 conducts the
 two Speakers
 and other
 Members to
 their several
 Houses of
 Parliament.*

He himself waited upon the two Speakers, and conducted
 them, and their Members, to the several Houses, where the
 other Members were then sitting, even in the Instant when
 the Revolters, as they called them, enter'd into the Houses,
 the old Speakers assumed their places again, and enter'd upon
 their business, as if there had been no separation. The first
 thing they did, was calling in the General into both Houses,
 and making him a large acknowledgement in the name of
 each House, of the great favours he had done to them; they
 thanked him "for the Protection he had given to their Per-
 "sons, and his Vindication of the Privileges of Parliament.
 Then they voted "all that had been done by themselves in
 "going to the Army, and in residing there, and all that had
 "been done by the Army, to be well and lawfully done; as,
 some time after, they also voted, "that all that had been done
 "in the Houses since their departure, was against Law, and
 "Privilege of Parliament, invalid and void: Then they ad-
 "journ'd

jour'd to the next day, without questioning or punishing any Member who had acted there.

THE Army of Horse, Foot, and Cannon, marched the next day through the City (which, upon the desire of the Parliament, undertook forthwith to supply an hundred thousand pounds for the payment of the Army) without the least disorder, or doing the least damage to any Person, or giving any disrespectful word to any Man : by which they attained the reputation of being in excellent Discipline, and that both Officers and Soldiers were Men of extraordinary temper and sobriety. So they marched over *London Bridge* into *Southwark*, and to those Quarters to which they were assign'd; some Regiments were Quarter'd in *Westminster*, the *Strand*, and *Holburn*, under pretence of being a Guard to the Parliament, but intended as a Guard upon the City. The General's head Quarters were at *Chelsey*, and the rest of the Army Quarter'd between *Hampton Court* and *London*, that the King might be well look'd to; and the Council of Officers, and Agitators, sat constantly, and formally, at *Fulham*, and *Putney*, to provide that no other settlement should be made for the Government of the Kingdom than what they should well approve.

WHILST these things were thus agitated between the Army and the Parliament and the City, the King enjoyed himself at *Hampton Court*, much more to his content than he had of late; the respects of the Chief Officers of the Army seeming much greater than they had been; *Cromwell* himself came oftner to him, and had longer conferences with him; talked with more openness to Mr *Asburnham* than he had done, and appear'd more chearful. Persons of all conditions repaired to his Majesty of those who had serv'd him; with whom he conferr'd without reservation; and the Citizens flocked thither as they had used to do at the end of a Progress, when the King had been some Months absent from *London*: but that which pleased his Majesty most, was, that his Children were permitted to come to him, in whom he took great delight. They were all at the Earl of *Northumberland's* House, at *Sion*, from the time the King came to *Hampton Court*, and had liberty to attend his Majesty when he pleased; so that sometimes he sent for them to come to *Hampton Court*, and sometimes he went to them to *Sion*; which gave him great satisfaction.

IN this conversation, as if his Majesty had foreseen all that befel him afterwards, and which at that time sure he did not suspect, he took great care to instruct his Children how to behave themselves if the worst should befall him that the worst of his Enemies did contrive, or wish; and "that they should

F 2

"preserve

The Army marches through the City, and Quarters about it,

The King at Hampton Court.

The King's discourse and conversation with his Children that were in the Parliament's power.

“preserve unshaken their Affection and Duty to the Prince their Brother. The Duke of *York* was then about fourteen years of Age; and so, capable of any information or instruction the King thought fit to give him. His Majesty told him, “that he looked upon himself as in the hands and disposal of the Army, and that the Parliament had no more power to do him good or harm, than as the Army should direct or permit; and that he knew not, in all this time he had been with them, what he might promise himself from those Officers of the Army at whose devotion it was: that he hoped well, yet with much doubt and fear; and therefore he gave him this general direction, and command, “that if there appear’d any such alteration in the affection of the Army, that they restrain’d him from the liberty he then enjoy’d of seeing his Children, or suffer’d not his Friends to resort to him with that freedom that they enjoyed at present, he might conclude they would shortly use him worse, and that he should not be long out of a Prison; and therefore that from the time he discover’d such an alteration, he should bethink himself how he might make an escape out of their power, and Transport himself beyond the Seas. The place he recommended to him, was *Holland*; where he presum’d his Sister would receive him very kindly, and that the Prince of *Orange* her Husband would be well pleased with it, though, possibly, the States might restrain him from making those Expressions of his Affection his own inclination promoted him to. He wish’d him to think always of this, as a thing possible to fall out, and so spake frequently to him of it, and of the circumstances and cautions which were necessary to attend it.

THE Princess *Elizabeth* was not above a year or two younger than the Duke, a Lady of excellent Parts, great Observation, and an early Understanding; which the King discern’d, by the Account she gave him both of Things and Persons, upon the experience she had had of both. His Majesty enjoy’d her, “upon the worst that could befall him, never “to be dispos’d of in Marriage without the consent and approbation of the Queen her Mother, and the Prince her Brother; and always to perform all Duty and Obedience to both those; and to Obey the Queen in all things, except in matter of Religion; in which he commanded her, upon his Blessing, never to hearken or consent to her; but to continue firm in the Religion she had been Instructed and Educated in, what discountenance and ruin soever might befall the poor Church, at that time under so severe prosecution.

THE Duke of *Glocester* was very young, being at that time

time not above seven years old, and so might well be thought incapable of retaining that advice, and injunction, which in truth ever after made so deep impression in him. After he had given him all the advice he thought convenient in the matter of Religion, and commanded him positively, "never to be perswaded or threaten'd out of the Religion of the Church, in which he hoped he would be well Instructed, and for the Purity and Integrity whereof he bid him remember that he had his Father's Testimony, and Authority; his Majesty told him, "that his Infancy, and the Tenderness of his years, might perswade some Men to hope and believe, "that he might be made an Instrument, and Property, to advance their wicked designs; and if they should take away his Life, they might, possibly, the better to attain their own ends make him King; that under him, whilst his Age would not permit him to Judge, and Act for himself, they might remove many obstructions which lay in their way; and form and unite their Councils; and then they would destroy Him too. But he commanded him, upon his Blessing, never to forget what he said to him upon this occasion, nor to accept, or suffer himself to be made King, "whilst either of his Elder Brothers liv'd, in what part of the World soever they should be: that he should remember that the Prince his Brother was to succeed him by the Laws of God and Man; and, if he should miscarry, that the Duke of *Tork* was to succeed in the same Right; and therefore that he should be sure never to be made use of to interrupt, or disturb either of their Rights; which would in the end turn to his own destruction. And this discourse the King reiterated to him, as often as he had liberty to see him, with all the earnestness, and passion he could express; which was so fixed in his Memory that he never forgot it. And many years after, when he was sent out of *England*, he made the full relation of all the particulars to Me, with that commotion of Spirit, that it appear'd to be deeply rooted in him; and made use of one part of it very seasonably afterwards, where there was more than an ordinary attempt made to have perverted him in his Religion, and to perswade him to become Roman Catholick for the advancement of his Fortune.

In this manner, and with these kind of reflections, the King made use of the Liberty he enjoy'd; and consider'd as well, what remedies to apply to the worst that could fall out, as to Care for the Officers of the Army in order to the improvement of his Condition; of which he was not yet in despair; the Chief Officers, and all the Heads of that Party, looking upon it as their wisest Policy to cherish the King's hopes by the Liberty they gave him, and by a very flowing

Courtesy towards all who had been of his Party; whose expectation, and good word, and testimony, they found did them much good both in the City and the Country.

At this time the Lord *Capel*, whom We left in *Jersey*, hearing of the difference between the Parliament and the Army, left his two Friends there; and made a Journey to *Paris* to the Prince, that he might receive his Highness's approbation of his going for *England*; which he very willingly gave; well knowing that he would improve all opportunities, with great diligence, for the King his Father's Service: and then that Lord Transported himself into *Zealand*, his Friends having advised him to be in those parts before they endeavour'd to procure a Pass for him; which they easily did, as soon as he came thither; and so he had liberty to remain at his own House in the Country, where he was exceedingly belov'd, and hated no where. And in this general and illimited indulgence, he took the opportunity to wait upon the King at *Hampton Court*; and gave him a particular Account of all that passed at *Jersey*, before the Prince's remove from thence, and of the reasons which induced those of the Council to remain still there, and of many other particulars, of which his Majesty had never before been throughly inform'd, and which put it out of any bodies power to do the Chancellor of the Exchequer any ill Offices: And from thence the King writ, with his own hand, a very gracious and kind Letter to the Chancellor at *Jersey*; full of hope "that he should conclude such a Treaty with the Army and Parliament that he should shortly draw him, and some other of his Friends, to him. He thanked him "for undertaking the work he was upon; "and told him, he should expect speedily to receive some "contribution from him towards it; and, within a very short time afterwards, he sent to him his own Memorials (or those which by his Command had been kept, and were perused, and corrected by himself) of all that had passed from the time he had left his Majesty at *Oxford*, when he waited upon the Prince into the West, to the very day that the King left *Oxford* to go to the *Scots*; out of which Memorials, as hath been said before, the most important passages in the Years 1644, and 1645, are faithfully collected. To the Lord *Capel*, his Majesty imparted all his Hopes and all his Fears; and what great Overtures the *Scots* had again made to him; and "that he did really believe that it could not be long before there "would be a War between the two Nations; in which the "Scots promised themselves an universal concurrence from all "the Presbyterians in *England*; and that, in such a conjuncture, "he wished that his own Party would put themselves in "Armes, without which he could not expect great benefit by "the

The Lord
Capel waits
on the King
at Hamp-
ton Court
from Jersey.

The Sub-
stance of the
King's Let-
ter to the
Chancellor of
the Exche-
quer.

"the success of the other: And therefore desir'd *Capel* "to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his Friends together; which he promised to do effectually; and did, very punctually, afterwards, to the loss of his own Life. Then the King enjoyn'd him "to write to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; "that whenever the Queen, or Prince, should require him to come to them, he should not fail to yield Obedience to their Command; and himself writ to the Queen, "that when ever the Season should be ripe for the Prince to engage himself in any Action, she should not fail to send for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to wait upon him in it. And many things were then adjust'd, upon the foresight of future contingencies, which were afterwards thought fit to be executed.

THE Marquis of Ormond had, by special Command and Order from the King whilst he was with the Scots at New-Castle, deliver'd up the City of Dublin to the Parliament, after the Irish had so infamously broken the Peace they had made with the King, and brought their whole Army before Dublin to Besiege it; by which he was reduced to those straits, that he had no other election than to deliver it to the Irish, or to the Parliament; of which his Majesty being inform'd, determin'd, he should give it to the Parliament; which he did, with full Conditions for all those who had serv'd his Majesty; and so Transported himself into England, and, from London, presented himself to the King at Hampton Court; who receiv'd him with extraordinary Grace, as a Person who had serv'd him with great Zeal and Fidelity, and with the most universal Testimony of all good Men that any Man could receive. He us'd less Application to the Parliament and Army than other Men, relying upon the Articles the Parliament had sign'd to him; by which he had liberty to stay so many Months in England, and at the end thereof to Transport himself into the parts beyond the Seas, if in the mean time he made no composition with the Parliament: which he never intended to do; and though he knew well that there were many jealous Eyes upon him, he repair'd frequently to present his Duty to the King; who was exceedingly pleased to confer with him, and to find that he was resolv'd to undertake any Enterprize that might Advance his Service; which the King himself, and most other Men who wish'd well to it, did at that time believe to be in no desperate Condition. And no Men were fuller of professions of Duty, and a Resolution to run all hazards, than the Scottish Commissioners; who, from the time they had deliver'd up the King, resided at London with their usual Confidence, and loudly complain'd of the presumption of the Army in seizing upon the Person of

** of the Proceedings of the Marquis of Ormond, as in another Acc. y given by the Earl of Clarendon in a Tra. written by him. about 1654. & first published from the MS. in 1720. in 8^o edit. the Hist. of the Rebellion & Civil War in Ireland.*

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see a longer Acc. here of in y above mentioned tract. wrote by y Earl of Clarendon. p. 77 &c.

the King, insinuated themselves to all those who were thought to be most constant, and inseparable from the Interest of the Crown, with passionate undertaking that their whole Nation would be united, to a Man, in any Enterprize for his Service. And now, from the time his Majesty came to *Hampton Court*, they came to him with as much presumption as if they had carried him to *Edenborough*; which was the more notorious, and was thought to signify the more, because their Persons were known to be most odious to all the great Officers in the Army, and to those who now govern'd in the Parliament. Here the foundation of that engagement was laid, which was endeavour'd to be perform'd the next year ensuing, and which the *Scots* themselves then communicated to the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Capel*, and other trusty Persons; as if there was nothing else intended in it than a full vindication of all his Majesty's Rights and Interest.

WHEN the Army had thus subdued all opposition, and the Parliament and they seem'd all of a piece, and the refractory humours of the City seem'd to be suppress'd, and totally tamed, the Army seem'd less regardful of the King than they had been; the Chief Officers came rarely to *Hampton Court*, nor had they the same countenances towards *Asburcham*, and *Berkley*, as they used to have; they were not at leisure to speak with them, and when they did, asked captious Questions, and gave Answers themselves of no signification. The Agitators, and Council of Officers, sent some Propositions to the King, as ruinous to the Church and destructive to the Regal Power, as had been yet made by the Parliament; and, in some respects, much worse, and more dishonourable; and said, "if his Majesty would consent thereunto, they would apply themselves to the Parliament, and do the best they could to persuade them to be of the same opinion. But his Majesty rejected them with more than usual indignation, not without some reproaches upon the Officers, for having deluded him, and having prevail'd in all their own designs, by making the World believe that they intended his Majesty's Restoration and Settlement, upon better Conditions than the Parliament was willing to admit. By this manner of resentment, the Army took it self to be disobliged, and used another Language in their discourse of the King than they had, for some Months, done; and such Officers who had formerly serv'd the King, and had been civilly treated and shelter'd in the Quarters of the Army, were now driven from thence. They, who had been kind to them, withdrew themselves from their Acquaintance; and the Sequestrations of all the Estates of the Cavaliers, which had been intermitted, were revived with as much rigour as ever had been before practiced, and

The Army
begins to be
insinuated
of the King.

and the declared Delinquents racked to as high compositions; which if they refused to make, their whole Estates were taken from them, and their Persons exposed to affronts, and insecurity; but this was imputed to the prevalence of the Presbyterian humour in the Parliament against the judgement of the Army: and it is very true, that though the Parliament was so far subdued, that it no more found fault with what the Army did, nor complain'd that it meddled in determining what Settlement should be made in the Government, yet, in all their own Acts and Proceedings, they prosecuted a Presbyterian Settlement as earnestly as they could. The Covenant was pressed in all places, and the Anabaptists and other Sects, which begun to abound, were punished, restrained, and discountenanced; which the Army liked not, as a violation of the Liberty of tender Consciences; which, they pretended, was as much the Original of the Quarrel, as any other Grievance whatsoever.

IN this year, 1647, they had begun a Visitation of the University of Oxford; which they finished not till the next year; in which the Earl of Pembroke had been contented to be imploy'd as Chancellor of the University, who had taken an Oath to defend the Rights and Privileges of the University; notwithstanding which, out of the extreme weakness of his Understanding, and the miserable compliance of his Nature, he suffer'd himself to be made a Property in joining with *Brent, Pryn,* and some Committee Men, and Presbyterian Ministers, as Commissioners for the Parliament to reform the Discipline, and Erroneous Doctrine of that Famous University, by the Rule of the Covenant; which was the Standard of all Mens Learning, and ability to govern; all Persons of what Quality soever being required to subscribe that Test; which the whole Body of the University was so far from submitting to, that they met in their Convocation, and, to their eternal Renown (being at the same time under a strict and strong Garrison, put over them by the Parliament; the King in Prison; and all their hopes desperate) passed a publick Act, and Declaration against the Covenant, with such invincible Arguments of the Illegality, Wickedness, and Perjury contain'd in it, that no Man of the contrary Opinion, nor the Assembly of the Divines (which then sat at *Westminster*, forming a new Catechism, and Scheme of Religion) ever ventur'd to make any Answer to it; nor is it indeed to be answer'd, but must remain to the World's end, as a Monument of the Learning, Courage, and Loyalty, of that excellent place, against the highest Malice and Tyranny that was ever exercised in, or over any Nation; and which those Famous Commissioners only answer'd by Expelling all those who refused

The University of Oxford visited by the Parliament in 1647. See a large Account of this Visitation in Dr. Walker's Attempt.
Pl. 1. p. 123 &c.

The Oxford Reasons against the Covenant passed in Convocation at this time.

refused to submit to their Jurisdiction, or to take the Covenant; which was, upon the matter, the whole University; scarce one Governour and Master of College or Hall, and an incredible small Number of the Fellows, or Scholars, submitting to either; whereupon that desolation being made, they placed in their rooms, the most notorious Factious Presbyterians, in the Government of the several Colleges or Halls; and such other of the same Leven in the Fellowships, and Scholars places, of those whom they had Expelled, without any regard to the Statutes of the several Founders, and the Incapacities of the Persons that were put in. The Omnipotence of an Ordinance of Parliament, confirm'd all that was this way done; and there was no farther contending against it.

It might reasonably be concluded that this wild and barbarous depopulation, would even extirpate all that Learning, Religion, and Loyalty, which had so eminently flourished there; and that the succeeding ill Husbandry, and unskilful Cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in Ignorance, Profanation, Atheism, and Rebellion; but, by God's wonderful Blessing, the goodness and richness of that Soil could not be made barren by all that stupidity and negligence. It choaked the Weeds, and would not suffer the poysonous Seeds, which were sown with industry enough, to spring up; but after several Tyrannical Governments, mutually succeeding each other, and with the same malice and perverseness endeavouring to extinguish all good Literature and Allegiance, it yielded a Harvest of extraordinary good and sound Knowledge in all parts of Learning; and many who were wickedly introduced, applied themselves to the Study of good Learning, and the practice of Virtue; and had inclination to that Duty and Obedience they had never been taught; so that when it pleased God to bring King *Charles* the Second back to his Throne, he found that University (not to undervalue the other, which had nobly likewise rejected the ill infusions which had been industriously pour'd into it) abounding in excellent Learning, and devoted to Duty and Obedience, little inferior to what it was before its desolation; which was a lively instance of God's Mercy, and purpose, for ever so to provide for his Church, that the Gates of Hell shall never prevail against it; which were never open'd wider, nor with more Malice, than in that time.

THESE violent Proceedings in all places, blasted all the King's hopes, and put an end to all the rest and quiet he had for some time enjoyed; nor could he devise any remedy. He was weary of depending upon the Army, but neither knew how to get from them, nor whither else to resort for help. The Officers of those Guards which were assign'd to attend his

his Person, and who had behaved themselves with good Man-
 ners, and Duty towards him, and very civilly towards those
 of his Party who had used to wait upon his Majesty, begun
 now to murmur at so great reformation to him, and to use many
 who came, rudely; and not to suffer them to go into the
 Room where the King was; or, which was worse, put them
 out when they were there; and when his Majesty seem'd to
 take notice and be troubled at it, they appear'd not to be con-
 cern'd, nor answer'd him with that Duty they had used to do.
 They affronted the *Scottish Commissioners* very notably, and
 would not suffer them to speak with the King; which caused
 an expostulation from the Parliament; which removed the
 obstruction for the future, but procured no satisfaction for the
 injury they had receiv'd, nor made the same Officers more
 civil towards their Persons. *Ashburnham*, and *Berkley*, re-
 ceiv'd many Advertisements from some Officers with whom
 they had most conversed, and who would have been glad that
 the King might have been restored by the Army for the Pre-
 ferments which they expected might fall to their share, "that
 Cromwell, and Ireton resolv'd never to trust the King, or to
 do any thing towards his Restoration; and they two steer'd
 the whole Body; and therefore it was advis'd, "that some
 way might be found to remove his Majesty out of their
 hands. Major *Huntington*, one of the best Officers they had,
 and Major to *Cromwell's* own Regiment of Horse, upon whom
 he rely'd in any Enterprize of Importance more than upon
 any Man, had been employ'd by him to the King, to say
 those things from him which had given the King the most
 confidence, and was much more than he had ever said to *Ash-
 burnham*; and the Major did really believe that he had meant
 all he said, and the King had a good opinion of the Integrity
 of the Major, upon the Testimony he had receiv'd from
 some he knew had no mind to deceive his Majesty; and the
 Man merited the Testimony they gave him. He, when he
 observ'd *Cromwell* to grow colder in his Expressions for the
 King than he had formerly been, expostulated with him in
 very sharp terms, for "abusing him, and making him the
 Instrument to couzen the King; and, though the other en-
 deavour'd to persuade him that all should be well, he in-
 form'd his Majesty of all he had observ'd; and told him,
 "that *Cromwell* was a Villain, and would destroy him if he were
 not prevented; and, in a short time after, he gave up his
 Commission, and would serve no longer in the Army. *Crom-
 well* himself expostulated with Mr *Ashburnham*, and complain'd
 "that the King could not be trusted; and that he had no af-
 fection or confidence in the Army, but was jealous of them,
 "and of all the Officers: that he had Intrigues in the Par-
 liament,

*much helped to him in so much that he imprisoned him several
 times. But after the Restoration he served by service to the King
 by W. Woodcock & y. Kern. in his Hist. B. XVI. p. 728. & after y.
 Restoration of the Woodcock was a Commissioner of y. Excise
 at London & died at London on April 21. 1684.*

*sec. a remarkable In-
 stance here of cited
 after p. 81.*

** & became of L^d Wood-
 cock in his A.H. Oxon Vll.
 p. 1174. a bitter
 Letter of Oliver & y.
 after y.
 Restoration of the Woodcock was a Commissioner of y. Excise
 at London & died at London on April 21. 1684.*

liament, and Treaties with the Presbyterians of the City, to raise new Troubles; that he had a Treaty concluded with the *Scotish* Commissioners to engage the Nation again in blood; and therefore he would not be answerable if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation; and that was the reason, besides the old Animosity, that had drawn on the Affront, which the Commissioners had complain'd of. What that Treaty was, and what it produced, will be mention'd in a more proper place.

*The Levellers
grew up in
the Army.*

THERE was at this time a new Faction grown up in the Army, which were either by their own denomination, or with their own consent, called *Levellers*; who spoke insolently and confidently against the King and Parliament, and the great Officers of the Army; and professed as great Malice against all the Lords, as against the King; and declared "that all degrees of Men should be levelled, and an equality should be established, both in Titles and Estates, throughout the Kingdoms. Whether the raising this Spirit was a piece of *Cromwell's* ordinary Witchcraft, in order to some of his designs, or whether it grew amongst those Tares which had been sowed in that confusion, certain it is, it gave him real trouble at last (which must be set down hereafter) but the present use he made of it was, that, upon the licentious discourse of that kind, which some Soldiers upon the Guard usually made, the Guard upon the King's Person was doubled; a restraint put upon the great resort of People who came to see the King; and all pretended to be for his security, and to prevent any Violence that might be attempted upon his Life; which they seem'd to apprehend, and detest. In the mean time, they neither hinder'd his Majesty from riding abroad to take the Air, nor from doing any thing he had a mind to, nor restrain'd those who waited upon him in his Bed-Chamber, nor his Chaplains from performing their Functions; though towards all these there was less civility exercised than had been; and the Guards which waited nearest, were more rude, and made more noise at unreasonable hours than they had been accusom'd to do; the Captain who Commanded them, Colonel *Whaley*, being a Man of a rough and brutal Temper, who had offer'd great violence to his Nature, when he appear'd to exercise any civility and good Manners. The King, every day, receiv'd little Billets or Letters, secretly convey'd to him without any Name, which advertised him of wicked designs upon his Life, and some of them advis'd him to make an Escape, and repair secretly into the City, where he should be safe; some Letters directing him to such an Alderman's House; all which his Majesty looked upon as artifice to lead him into some streights, from whence he should not easily explicate himself; and yet

many

many who repaired to him, brought the same advice from Men of unquestionable sincerity, by what reason soever they were swayed.

THE King found himself in great perplexity, from what he discern'd, and observ'd himself, as well as what he heard from others; but what use to make of the one or the other, was very hard to resolve: he did really believe that their Malice was at the height, and that they did design his Murther, but knew not which was a probable way to prevent it. The making an escape, if it were not contrived with wonderful sagacity, would expose him to be assassinated, by pretended Ignorance, and would be charged upon himself; and if he could avoid their Guards, and get beyond them undiscover'd, whether should he go? and what place would receive and defend him? The hope of the City seem'd not to him to have a foundation of reason; they had been too late subdued to recover Courage for such an adventure; and the Army now was much more Master of it than when they desponded. There is reason to believe that he did resolve to transport himself beyond the Seas, which had been no hard matter to have brought to pass, but with whom he consulted for the way of doing it, is not to this day discover'd; they who were instrumental in his remove, pretending to know nothing of the Resolution, or Counsel. But, one morning, being the eleventh of November, the King having, the night before, pretended some indisposition, and that he would go to his rest, they who went into his Chamber, found that he was not there, nor had been in his Bed that Night. There were two or three Letters found upon his Table, writ all with his own hand, one to the Parliament, another to the General; in which he declared "the reason of his remove to be, an apprehension that some desperate Persons had a design to Assassinate him; and therefore he had withdrawn himself with a purpose of remaining concealed, until the Parliament had agreed upon such Propositions as should be fit for him to consent to; and he would then appear, and willingly consent to any thing that should be for the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom. There were discover'd the treading of Horses at a Back door of the Garden into which his Majesty had a Passage out of his Chamber; and it is true that way he went, having appointed his Horse to be there ready at an hour, and *Sr John Berkley, Asburnham, and Legg*, to wait upon him, the two last being of his Bed-Chamber. *Asburnham* alone seem'd to know what they were to do, the other two having receiv'd only Orders to attend. When they were free from the Apprehension of the Guards, and the Horse Quarters, they rode towards the South West, and towards that part of *Hampshire* which

The King
escapes from
Hampton
Court Nov.
11.

*He comes to
Lichfield
in Hamp-
shire.*

which led to the New Forest. The King asked *Alburnham*, where the Ship lay? which made the other two conclude that the King resolv'd to Transport himself. After they had made some stay in that part next the Sea, and *Alburnham* had been some time absent, he return'd without any news of the Ship; with which the King seem'd troubled. Upon this disappointment, the King thought it best, for avoiding all High-ways, to go to *Tichfield*, a noble Seat of the Earl of *Southampton's* (who was not there) but inhabited by the old Lady his Mother with a small Family, which made the retreat the more convenient; there his Majesty alighted, and would speak with the Lady; to whom he made no scruple of Communicating himself, well knowing her to be a Lady of that Honour, and Spirit, that she was superior to all kind of temptation. There he refresh'd himself, and consulted with his three Servants, what he should next do, since there was neither Ship ready, nor could they presume that they could remain long there undiscover'd.

*The King
sends Al-
burnham
and Berk-
ley to Col.
Hammond
in the Isle of
Wight.*

IN this Debate, the Isle of *Wight* came to be mention'd (as they say) by *Alburnham*, as a place where his Majesty might securely repose himself, until he thought fit to inform the Parliament where he was. Colonel *Hammond* was Governour there, an Officer of the Army, and of nearest trust with *Cromwell*, having by his advice been Married to a Daughter of *John Hamden*, whose memory he always adored; yet, by some fatal mistake, this Man was thought a Person of Honour and Generosity enough to trust the King's Person to, and *Alburnham*, and *Berkley*, were sent to him with Orders, "first to be sure that the Man would faithfully promise not to deliver his Majesty up though the Parliament or Army should require him, but to give him his Liberty to shift for himself, if he were not able to defend him; and except he would make that promise, they should not let him know where his Majesty was, but should return presently to him. With this Commission they two crossed the Water to the Isle of *Wight*, the King in the mean time reposing himself at *Tichfield*. The next day they found Colonel *Hammond*; who was known to them both, who had Conversation with him in the Army, when the King was well treated there (and their Persons had been very civilly treated by most of the Officers, who thought themselves qualified sufficiently for Court Preferments) They told him, "that the King was withdrawn from the Army; of which he seem'd to have had no notice, and to be very much surpris'd with it. They then said, "that the King had so good an opinion of him, knowing him to be a Gentleman, and for his relation to Dr. *Hammond* " (whose Nephew he was) that he would trust his Person " with

"with him, and would from thence write to the Parliament, "if he would promise that if his Message had not that effect "which he hoped it would have, he would leave him to "himself to go whither he thought fit, and would not deliver "him to the Parliament, or Army, if they should require it. His Answer was, "that he would pay all the Duty and Service to his Majesty that was in his power; and, if he pleased "to come thither, he would receive and entertain him as "well as he could; but that he was an Inferior Officer, and "must obey his Superiors in whatsoever they thought fit to "command him: with which when he saw they were not satisfied, he asked, "where the King was? to which they made no other Answer, "but that they would acquaint his Majesty with his Answer, and, if he were satisfied with it, "they would return to him again. He demanded that Mr *Asburnham* would stay with him, and that the other might "go to the King; which Mr *Asburnham* refused to do.

AFTER some time spent in Debate, in which he made many expressions of his desire to do any Service to his Majesty, they were contented that he should go with them; and *Asburnham* said, "he would conduct him to the place where "the King was; and so, he Commanding three or four Ser- ^{*They bring Hammond to the King.*} vants or Soldiers to wait on him, they went together to *Tichfield*; and, the other staying below, *Asburnham* went up to the King's Chamber. When he had acquainted him with all that had passed, and that *Hammond* was in the House, his Majesty broke out in a passionate exclamation, and said, "O *Jack*, thou hast undone me! with which the other falling into a great passion of weeping, offer'd to go down, and to kill *Hammond*; to which his Majesty would not consent; and, after some pausing, and deliberation, sent for him up, and endeavour'd to persuade him to make the same promise, which had before been propos'd; to which he made the same Answer he had done, but with many professions of doing all the Offices he could for his Majesty; and seem'd to believe that the Army would do well for him. The King believ'd that there was now no possible way to get from him, he having ^{*Hammond*} the Command of the Country, and could call in what help he would; and so went with him into the Isle of *Wight*, and was ^{*King to Carisbrook Castle.*} Lodg'd at *Carisbrook*-Castle, at first with all demonstration of Respect and Duty.

It never appear'd afterwards that the King was maliciously betray'd to this unhappy peregrination, by the treachery and practice of those he trusted; and his Majesty himself never entertain'd the least jealousy, or Suspicion of it; yet the whole design appear'd to be so weakly contriv'd, the not being sure of a Ship, if the Resolution were fixed for Embarking, which

was never manifest, the making choice of the Isle of *Wight*, and of *Hammond* to be trusted, since nothing fell out which was not to be reasonably foreseen and expected, and the bringing him to *Titchfield*, without the permission of the King, if not directly contrary to it, seem'd to be all so far from a rational design and conduct, that most Men did believe there was Treason in the contrivance, or that his Majesty entrusted those who were grossly impos'd upon and deceiv'd by his greatest Enemies. *Legg* had had so general a Reputation of Integrity, and Fidelity to his Master, that he never fell under the least Imputation or Reproach with any Man: he was a very punctual and steady observer of the Orders he receiv'd, but no contriver of them, and though he had in truth a better Judgement and Understanding than either of the other two, his modesty and diffidence of himself never suffer'd him to contrive bold Counsels. *Berkley* was less known among those Persons of Honour and Quality who had follow'd the King, being in a very private Station before the War, and his Post in it being in the farthest Corner of the Kingdom, and not much spoken of till the end of it, when he was not beholden to reports; Ambition and Vanity were well known to be predominant in him, and that he had great confidence in himself, and did not delight to converse with those who had not; but he never fell under any blemish of Disloyalty, and he took care to publish that this Enterprize of the King's was so totally without his privity, that he was required to attend on Horse-back at such an hour, and had not the least intimation of his Majesty's purpose what he intended to do. Another particular, which was acknowledged by *Hammond*, did him much credit, that when *Hammond* demanded that *Asbburnham* should remain with him whilst the other went to the King, which *Asbburnham* refused to do, *Berkley* did offer himself to remain with him whilst *Asbburnham* should attend his Majesty; so that the whole weight of the prejudice and reproach was cast upon *Asbburnham*; who was known to have so great an Interest in the Affections of his Majesty, and so great an influence upon his Counsels and Resolutions, that he could not be ignorant of any thing that moved him.

THE not having a Ship ready, if it were intended, was unexcusable; and the putting the King into *Hammond's* hands without his leave, could never be wiped out. There were some who said, that *Asbburnham* resolv'd that the King should go to the Isle of *Wight*, before he left *Hampton* Court; and the Lord *Langdale* often said, "that being in Mr *Asbburnham's* Chamber at that time, he had the curiosity, whilst the "other went out of the Room, to look upon a Paper that lay "upon the Table; in which was writ, that it would be best

"for the King to withdraw from the Army, where he was
 "in such danger; and that the Isle of *Wight* would be a good
 "retreat, where Colonel *Hammond* Commanded; who was a
 "very honest Man. And this was some days before his Ma-
 "jesty remov'd. And then it was observ'd, that *Hammond*
 himself left the Army but two or three days before the King's
 remove, and went to the Isle of *Wight* at a Season when
 there was no visible occasion to draw him thither, and when
 the Agitators in the Army were at highest; and it was looked
 upon with the more wonder, because *Albournbam* was not
 afterwards call'd in Question for being instrumental in the
 King's going away, but liv'd unquestion'd long after in the
 fight of the Parliament, and in conversation with some of the
 Officers of the Army who had most deceiv'd him; and, which
 was more censured than all the rest, that after the Murder of
 the King he compounded, as was reported, at an easy rate,
 and liv'd at ease, and grew rich, for many years together with-
 out interruption.

ON the other hand, he preserv'd his Reputation and Credit
 with the most eminent of the King's Party; and his remain-
 ing in *England* was upon the Marriage of a Lady by whom
 he had a great Fortune, and many conveniences; which
 would have been seised by his leaving the Kingdom; and he
 did send over to the King, and had leave to stay there; and
 sometimes supplied the King with considerable Sums of Mo-
 ney. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower by *Crom-
 well*, where he remain'd till his Death; and the King was
 known to have had, to the last, a clear opinion of his Affe-
 ction, and Integrity; and when King *Charles* the Second re-
 turn'd, most of those of greatest Reputation, as the Marquis
 of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, gave him a good
 Testimony; yet then, the old discourses were revived, and
 Major *Huntington* did affirm, "that Mr *Albournbam* did in-
 "tend the King should go to the Isle of *Wight*, before he left
 "Hampton Court. Many who did not believe him to be
 corrupted, did still think that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had over-
 witted him, and perswaded him, upon great promises, that it
 should prove for his Majesty's benefit, and that they should
 the sooner do his business, that he should withdraw from the
 Army, and put himself into *Hammond's* hands; for if in truth
 Transportation had been thought of, it is hard to believe that
 a Ship would not have been provided.

SIR *John Berkley*, who, shortly after the King's being in the
 Isle of *Wight*, had Transported himself into *France*, and re-
 main'd still with the Duke of *York* to the time of King *Charles*
 the Second's Return, and Mr *Albournbam*, who continued in
England, and so the more liable to Reproach, had been so
 Vol. III. Part I. G sollici-

+ see in p. 75. a Declaration of his Affection to the King.

see on this point the
 Hist of the English &
 Scotch Prelates
 1659 p. 273

sollicitous to wipe off the Aspersions which were cast upon them joyntly, that they had it in care to preserve the Reputation of a joynt Innocence ; but whilst each endeavour'd to clear himself, he objected or imputed somewhat to the other, that made him liable to just censure ; and, in this contention, their Friends mention'd their several discourses so loudly, and so passionately for the credit and reputation of him whom they lov'd best, that they contracted a very avow'd Animosity against each other ; inasmuch as it was generally believ'd upon the King's Return, that they would, with some fierceness, have expostulated with each other in that way which angry Men choose to determine the right, or that both of them would have desir'd the King to have caused the whole to be so strictly examin'd, that the World might have discern'd, where the faults or oversights had been, if no worse could have been charged upon them : but they applied themselves to neither of those Expedients, and liv'd only as Men who took no delight in each others Conversation, and who did not desire to cherish any familiarity together. And the King, who was satisfied that there had been no Treasonable contrivance (from which his Father had absolv'd them) did not think it fit, upon such a Subject, to make strict Inquisition into Inadvertencies, Indiscretions, and Presumptions, which could not have been punished proportionally.

It is true that they both writ Apologies, or Narrations of all that had passed in that Affair, which they made not publick, but gave in writing to such of their Friends in whose opinions they most desir'd to be absolv'd, without any Inclination that one should see what the other had writ ; in which, though there were several reflections upon each other, and differences in occurrences of less moment, there was nothing in either that seem'd to doubt of the Integrity of the other ; nor any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the King to undertake that Journey. I have read both their Relations, and conferr'd with both of them at large, to discover in truth what the motives might be which led to so fatal an end ; and, if I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, I should declare that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their Loyalty or Affection to the King, or suborn'd to gratify any Persons with a disservice to their Master. They were both of them great Opiniators, yet irresolute, and easy to be shaken by any thing they had not thought of before ; and exceedingly undervalued each others Understanding ; but, as it usually falls out in Men of that kind of Composition, and Talent, they were both disposed to communicate more freely with, and, consequently, to be advised by new Acquaintance, and Men they had lately begun

to know, than old Friends, and such whose judgements they could not but esteem; who they had no mind should go sharers with them in the merit of any notable Service which they thought themselves able to bring to pass. Then, in the whole managery of the King's business, from the time that they came into the Army, they never conversed with the same Persons; but govern'd themselves by what they receiv'd from those whose correspondence they had chosen. *Asheburnham* seem'd wholly to rely upon *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*; and rather upon what they said to others than to himself. For besides outward Civilities, which they both exercised towards him more than to other Men, they seldom held private discourse with him, perswading him "that it was better for both their ends, in respect of the jealousy the Parliament had of them, that they should understand each others mind, as to the Transaction of any particulars, from third Persons mutually intrusted between them, than from frequent consultations together; and *Sr Edward Ford*, who had Married *Ireton's* Sister, but had been himself an Officer in the King's Army from the beginning of the War, and a Gentleman of good meaning, though not able to fathom the reserv'd and dark designs of his Brother in Law, was trusted to pass between them, with some other Officers of the Army, who had given *Asheburnham* reason to believe that they had honest Purposes.

Berkley had not found that respect, from *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, that he expected; at least discern'd it to be greater towards *Asheburnham*, than it was to Him; which he thought evidence enough of a defect of judgement in them; and therefore had apply'd himself to others, who had not so great Names, but greater Interest, as he thought, in the Soldiers. His chief confidence was in *Dr Staines*, who, though a *Dr* in Physick, was Quarter Master General of the Army; and one *Watson*, who was Scout Master General of the Army; both of the Council of War, both in good credit with *Cromwell*, and both notable Fanatics, and professed Enemies to the *Scots*, and the *Presbyterians*, and, no doubt, were both permitted, and instructed to Caress *Sr John Berkley*, and, by admiring his Wisdom and Conduct, to oblige him to depend on *Theirs*; and dissimulation had so great, and supreme an influence on the Hearts and Spirits of all those who were trusted, and employ'd by *Cromwell*, that no Man was safe in their Company, but he who resolv'd before, not to believe one word they said. These two Persons knew well how to humour *Sr John Berkley*, who believ'd them the more, because they seem'd very much to blame *Ireton's* stubbornness towards the King, and to fear that he often prevail'd upon *Cromwell* against

againſt his own Inclinations : They inform'd him of many particulars which paſſed in the Council of Officers, and ſometimes of advice from *Cromwell*, that was clean contrary to what the King receiv'd by *Aſhburnham* as his opinion, and which was found afterwards to be true (as it may be the other was too) which exceedingly confirm'd *Sr John* in the good opinion he had of his two Friends. They were the firſt who poſitively advertiſed the King by him, that *Cromwell* would never do him Service ; and the firſt who ſeem'd to apprehend that the King's Perſon was in danger, and that there was ſome ſecret deſign upon his Life.

I do not believe that *Sr John Berkley* knew any thing of the King's purpoſe in his intended eſcape, or whither he reſolv'd to go, or, indeed, more of it than that he reſolv'd at ſuch an hour, and in ſuch a place, to take Horſe, and was himſelf required to attend him ; nor do I, in truth, think that the King himſelf, when he took Horſe, reſolv'd whither to go. Some think he meant to go into the City ; others, that he intended for *Ferſey* ; and that was the ground of the Queſtion to *Mr Aſhburnham*, "where is the Ship? Certain it is that the King never thought of going to the Iſle of *Wight*. I am not ſure that *Mr Aſhburnham*, who had not yet given over all hope of the chief Officers of the Army, and believ'd the alterations, which had fallen out, proceeded from the barbarity of the Agitators, and the Levelling Party, had not the Iſle of *Wight* in his view from the beginning, that is, from the time his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to make an eſcape from the Army. It had been a difficult task to go about to diſſwade the King from an apprehenſion of his own ſafety, when it was much more natural to fear an Aſſaſſination, than to apprehend any thing that they did afterwards do. *Mr Aſhburnham* had ſo great a deteſtation of the *Scots*, that he expected no good from their Fraternity, the Presbyterians of the City ; and did really believe that if his Majeſty ſhould put himſelf into their hands, as was adviſed by many with a purpoſe that he ſhould be there conceal'd, till ſome favourable conjuncture ſhould offer it ſelf (for no body imagin'd that, upon his arrival there, the City would have declared for him, and have enter'd into a Conteſt with that Army which had ſolately ſubdued them) the ſecurity of ſuch an eſcape was not to be relied on, and very earneſtly diſſwaded his Maſter from entertaining the thought of it ; and this opinion of his was univerſally known, and, as hath been ſaid before, was an ingredient into the compoſition of that civility and kindneſs the Officers of the Army had for him. They did, to him, frequently lament the Levelling Spirit that was gotten into the Soldiers, which they foreſaw would in the future be as inconvenient,

nient, and mischievous to themselves, as it was, for the present, dangerous to the Person of the King; which they seem'd wonderfully to apprehend, and protested "that they knew "not how to apply any remedy to it, whilst his Majesty was "in the Army; but that they would quickly correct or sub- "due it, if the King were at any distance from them; and it is not impossible, that, in such discourses, some body who was trusted by them, if not one of themselves, might mention the Isle of *Wight* as a good place to retire to, and Colonel *Hammond* as a Man of good intentions; the minutes of which discourse Mr *Albarnham* might keep by him; for the Lord *Langdale's* relation of such a Paper, which he himself saw, and read, cannot be thought by me to be a meer fiction; to which, besides that he was a Person of unblemish'd Honour and Veracity, he had not any temptation; yet Mr *Albarnham* did constantly deny that he ever saw any such Paper, or had any thought of the Isle of *Wight* when the King left *Hampton Court*, and he never gave cause, in the subsequent Actions of his Life, to have his Fidelity suspected. And it is probable, that *Cromwell*, who many years afterwards committed him to the Tower, and did hate him, and desired to have taken his Life, would have been glad to have blasted his Reputation, by declaring that he had carried his Master to the Isle of *Wight*, without his privity, upon his own presumption; which, how well soever intended, must have been looked upon by all Men as such a transcendent Crime, as must have deprived him of all compassion for the worst that could befall him.

THE sudden unexpected withdrawing of the King, made a great impression upon the minds of all Men, every Man fancying that his Majesty would do that which he wished he would do. The Presbyterians imagined that he lay concealed in the City (which they unreasonably thought he might easily do) and would expect a proper conjuncture, upon a new rupture between the Parliament, and the Army, and the many Factions in the Army, which every day appear'd, to discover himself. The Cavaliers hoped that he would transport himself into the parts beyond the Seas, and quietly attend there those alterations at home, which might probably in a short time invite his Return. The Army was not without this apprehension, as imagining it the worst that could fall out to their purposes.

THE Parliament, that is, that part of it that was devoted to the Army, was most frighted with the imagination that the King was in the City, and would lurk there until some Conspiracy should be ripe, and all his Party should be present in *London* to second it; and therefore they no sooner heard that he was gone from *Hampton Court*, than they passed an Ordinance of both Houses, by which they declared, "that

The Parliament's behaviour upon the news of the King's withdrawing, and where he was.

“it should be Confiscation of Estate, and loss of Life, to any Man who presumed to harbour and conceal the King’s Person in his House, without revealing, and making it known to the Parliament: which, no doubt, would have terrified them all in such a manner, that if he had been in truth amongst them, he would quickly have been discover’d, and given up. They caused some of the most notorious Presbyterians Houses to be searched, as if they had been sure he had been there; and sent Posts to all Ports of the Kingdom “that they might be shut, and no Person be suffer’d to Embark, “left the King, in disguise, Transport himself; and a Proclamation was issued out, “for the banishing all Persons who “had ever borne Armes for the King, out of *London*, or any “place within twenty Miles of it; and all Persons of that kind, who, upon strict search, were found, were apprehended, and put into several Prisons with all the circumstances of severity and rigour. But all these doubts were quickly clear’d, and within two days, *Cromwell* inform’d the House of Commons, “that he had receiv’d Letters from Colonel *Hammond*, of all “the manner of the King’s coming to the Isle of *Wight*, and “the Company that came with him; that he remain’d there “in the Castle of *Carisbrooke*, till the pleasure of the Parliament should be known. He assured them, “that Colonel “*Hammond* was so honest a Man, and so much devoted to “their Service, that they need have no jealousy that he might “be corrupted by any Body; and all this relation he made with so unusual a gaiety, that all Men concluded that the King was where He wished he should be.

AND now the Parliament maintain’d no farther Contests with the Army, but tamely submitted to whatsoever they proposed; the Presbyterians in both Houses, and in the City, being in a terrible Agony, that some close Correspondences they had held with the King during his abode at *Hampton Court*, would be discover’d; and therefore would give no farther occasion of jealousy by any contradictions, leaving it to their Clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the People by their Pulpit-Inflamations; and they stoutly discharged their trust.

BUT *Cromwell* had more cause to fear a fire in his own Quarters, and that he had raised a Spirit in the Army which would not easily be quieted again. The Agitators, who were first form’d by him to oppose the Parliament, and to resist the destructive doom of their disbanding, and likewise to prevent any inconvenience, or mischief, that might result from the drowsy, dull Presbyterian humour of *Fairfax*; who wished nothing that *Cromwell* did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass: These Agitators, had hitherto transcribed faithfully
all

all the Copies he had given them, and offer'd such Advices to the Parliament, and insisted upon such expostulations and demands, as were necessary, whilst there was either any purpose to treat with the King or any reason to flatter his Party. But now the King was gone from the Army, and in such a place as the Army could have no recourse to him, and that the Parliament was become of so soft a temper, that the Party of the Army that was in it, could make all necessary impression upon them. He desired to restrain the Agitators from that Liberty which they had so long enjoyed, and to keep them within stricter Rules of Obedience to their Superiors, and to hinder their future Meetings, and Consultations concerning the settling the Government of the Kingdom; which, he thought, ought now to be solely left to the Parliament; whose Authority, for the present, he thought best to uphold, and by it to establish all that was to be done. But the Agitators would not be so dismiss'd from State Affairs; of which they had so pleasant a relish; nor be at the mercy of the Parliament, which they had so much provoked; and therefore when they were admitted no more to consultations with their Officers, they continued their meetings without them; and thought there was as great need to reform their Officers, as any part of the Church or State. They enter'd into new Associations, and made many Propositions to their Officers, and to the Parliament, to introduce an equality into all Conditions, and a parity among all Men; from whence they had the Appellation of *Levellers*; which appear'd a great Party. They did not only meet against the express Command of their Officers, but drew very considerable Parties of the Army to Rendezvous, without the Order or Privy of their Superiors; and there persuaded them to enter into such Engagements, as would in a short time have dissolv'd the Government of the Army, and absolv'd them from a dependence upon their General Officers. The suppression of this Licence, put *Cromwell* to the expence of all his cunning, dexterity, and courage; so that after he had cajoled the Parliament, as if the preservation of their Authority had been all he cared for and took to heart, and sent some false Brothers to comply in the Counsels of the Conspirators, by that means having notice of their Rendezvous, he was unexpectedly found with an ordinary Guard at those meetings; and, with a marvellous vivacity, having asked some Questions of those whom he observ'd most active, and receiving insolent Answers, he knocked two or three of them in the head with his own hand, and then charged the rest with his Troop; and took such a number of them as he thought fit; whereof he presently caused some to be Hang-
ed, and sent others to *London* to a more formal Tryal. By two

Cromwell suppresses a Tumult of the Levellers.

or three such Encounters, for the obstinacy continued long, he totally subdued that Spirit in the Army, though it continued and encreased very much in the Kingdom; and if it had not been Encounter'd at that time with that rough and brisk temper of *Cromwell*, it would presently have produced all imaginable confusion in the Parliament, Army, and Kingdom.

ALL opposition being thus suppressed and quieted, and *Cromwell* needing no other assistance to the carrying on his designs, than the present temper and inclination of the Parliament, they sent a Message to the King, briefly proposing to him, "that he would forthwith grant his Royal Assent to four Acts of Parliament; which they then sent to him. By one of them, he was to confess the War to have been raised by him against the Parliament; and so that he was guilty of all the Blood that had been spilt. By another, he was totally to dissolve the Government of the Church by Bishops, and to grant all the Lands belonging to the Church to such uses as they proposed; leaving the settling a future Government in the place thereof to farther Time and Counsels. By a third, he was to grant, and settle the Militia in the Manner and in the Persons proposed, reserving not so much power in himself as any Subject was capable of. In the last place, he was in effect, to Sacrifice all those who had serv'd, or adher'd to him, to the Mercy of the Parliament.

The Parliament sends a Message to the King to pass four Acts.

THE Persons who were sent with these four Bills, had liberty given to expect the King's Answer only four days, and were then required to return to the Parliament. With the Commissioners of Parliament there came likewise the Commissioners of *Scotland*, who, after the four Bills were deliver'd, and read to the King, the very next day, desired an Audience; and, with much formality and confidence, deliver'd a Declaration, and Protestation on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland* against those Bills and Propositions. They said, "they were so prejudicial to Religion, the Crown, and the Union, and Interest of the Kingdoms, and so far different from the former proceedings and engagements between the two Kingdoms, that they could not concur therein; and therefore, in the name of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, did declare

The Commissioners of Scotland enter a Protestation against them.

"their dissent. The King had receiv'd Advertisement, that as soon as he should refuse to consent to the Bills, he should presently be made a close Prisoner, and all his Servants should be removed from him; upon which, and because the Commissioners had no power to treat with him, but were only to receive his positive Answer, he resolv'd that his Answer should not be known till it was deliver'd to the Parliament; and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to make his Escape, before new Orders could be sent from *Westminster*: so

when

when the Commissioners came to receive his Answer, he gave it to them sealed. The Earl of *Denbigh*, who was the chief of the Commissioners, and a Person very ungracious to the King, told him, "that though they had no Authority to treat with him, or to do any thing but to receive his Answer, yet they were not to be looked upon as Common Messengers, and to carry back an Answer that they had not seen: And, upon the matter, refused to receive it; and said, "they would return without any, except they might see what they carried.

His Majesty conceiv'd that their return without his Answer would be attended with the worst Consequences; and therefore he told them, "that he had some reason for having offer'd to deliver it to them in that manner; but if they would give him their words, that the Communicating it to them should be attended with no prejudice to him, he would open it, and cause it to be read, which they readily undertook (as in truth they knew no reason to suspect it) and thereupon he open'd it, and gave it one to read. The Answer was, "that his Majesty had always thought it a matter of great difficulty to comply in such a manner with all engaged Interests, that a firm and lasting Peace might ensue; in which opinion he was now confirm'd, since the Commissioners for *Scotland* do solemnly protest against the several Bills, and Propositions, which the two Houses of Parliament had presented to him for his Assent; so that it was not possible for him to give such an Answer as might be the foundation of a hopeful Peace. He gave them many unanswerable reasons, "why he could not pass the four Bills as they were offer'd to him; which did not only devalue him of all Sovereignty, and leave him without any possibility of recovering it to him or his Successors, but open'd a door for all intolerable oppressions upon his Subjects, he granting such an Arbitrary and Illimited Power to the two Houses. He told them, "that neither the desire of being freed from that tedious and irksome Condition of Life, which he had so long suffer'd, nor the apprehension of any thing that might befall him, should ever prevail with him to consent to any one Act, till the conditions of the whole Peace should be concluded; and then that he would be ready to give all just and reasonable satisfaction, in all particulars; and for the adjusting of all this, he knew no way but a Personal Treaty (and therefore very earnestly desired the two Houses to consent to it) to be either at *London*, or any other place they would rather choose. As soon as this Answer, or to the same effect, was read, he deliver'd it to the Commissioners; who no sooner receiv'd it than they kiss'd his hand, and departed for *Westminster*.

THE

Professly after Hammond removes the King's old Servants from about him.

THE Commissioners were no sooner gone than *Hammond* caused all the King's Servants, who till then had all Liberty to be with him, to be immediately put out of the Castle; and forbid any of them to repair thither any more; and appointed a strong Guard to restrain any Body from going to the King, if they should endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled, and surpris'd him, being an absolute disappointment of all the hope he had left. He told *Hammond*, "that it was not suitable to his engagement, and that it did not become a Man of Honour or Honesty to treat him so, who had so freely put himself into his Hands. He asked him, whether the Commissioners were acquainted with his purpose to proceed in this manner? To which he Answer'd, "that they were not; but that he had an Order from the Parliament to do as he had done; and that he saw plainly by his Answer to the Propositions, that he acted by other Counsels than stood with the good of the Kingdom.

THIS insolent and imperious proceeding, put the Island (which was generally inhabited by a People always well affected to the Crown) into a high Mutiny. They said, "they would not endure to see their King so used, and made a Prisoner. There was at that time there one Captain *Burly*, who was of a good Family in the Island. He had been a Captain of one of the King's Ships, and was put out of his Command when the Fleet Rebel'd against the King; and then he put himself into the King's Army, where he continued an Officer of good Account to the end of the War, and was in one of the King's Armies General of the Ordnance. When the War was at an end, he repair'd into his own Country, the Isle of *Wight*; where many of his Family still lived in good Reputation. This Gentleman chanced to be at *Newport*, the chief Town in the Island, when the King was thus treated, and when the People seem'd generally to resent it with so much indignation; and was so much transported with the same fury, being a Man of more Courage than of Prudence and Circumspection, that he caused a Drum to be presently beaten, and put himself at the head of the People who flocked together, and cried "for God, the King, and the People; and said, "he would lead them to the Castle, and rescue the King from his Captivity. The attempt was presently discern'd to be irrational, and impossible; and by the great diligence, and activity of the King's Servants, who had been put out of the Castle, the People were quieted, and all Men resorted to their own Houses; but the poor Gentleman paid dear for his ill advised and precipitate Loyalty. For *Hammond* caused him presently to be made Prisoner; and the Parliament, without delay, sent down a Commission of Oyer and

Thereupon Captain Burly stirs up the People in the Island, but is quickly suppressed, condemned, and executed.

and *Termier*; in which an infamous Judge, *Wild*, whom they had made Chief Baron of the Exchequer for such Services, presided; who caused poor *Burly* to be, with all formality, indicted of High Treason for Levying War against the King, and engaging the Kingdom in a new War; of which the Jury they had brought together, found him guilty; upon which their Judge condemn'd him, and the Honest Man was forthwith hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd; with all the circumstances of Barbarity and Cruelty; which struck a wonderful Terror into all Men, this being the first precedent of their having brought any Man to a formal Trial by the Law to deprive him of his Life, and make him guilty of High Treason for adhering to the King; and it made a deeper impression upon the hearts of all Men, than all the Cruelties they had yet exercised by their Courts of War; which, though they took away the Lives of many Innocent Men, left their Estates to their Wives and Children; but when they saw now, that they might be condemn'd of High Treason before a sworn Judge of the Law for serving the King, by which their Estates would be likewise Confiscated, they thought they should be justified if they kept their Hearts entire, without being involv'd by their Actions in a Capital Transgression.

UPON the receipt of the King's Answer, there appear'd a new Spirit and Temper in the House of Commons; hitherto, no Man had mention'd the King's Person without Duty and Respect, and only lamented "that he was misled by evil and "wicked Counsellors; who being removed from him, he "might by the advice of his Parliament govern well enough. But now, upon the refusal to pass these Bills, every Man's mouth was open'd against him with the utmost Sawciness, and Licence; each Man striving to exceed the other in the impudence and bitterness of his Invective. Cromwell declared, "that the King was a Man of great parts, and great understanding (faculties they had hitherto endeavour'd to have him thought to be without) "but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a Man, that he was not to be trusted. And thereupon, repeated many particulars, whilft he was in the Army, that his Majesty with'd that such, and such things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was displeased, and complain'd of it: "That whilft he profess'd with "all solemnity that he referr'd himself wholly to the Parliament, and depended only upon their Wisdom and Counsel "for the Settlement and Composing the Distractions of the "Kingdom. he had, at the same time, secret Treaties with "the Scottish Commissioners, how he might imbroil the Nation "in a new War, and destroy the Parliament. He concluded, "that they might no farther trouble themselves with sending "Messages

"Messages to him, or farther Propositions, but that they might enter upon those Counsels which were necessary towards the Settlement of the Kingdom, without having farther recourse to the King. Those of his Party seconded this advice with new Reproaches upon the Person of the King, charging him with such abominable Actions, as had been never heard of, and could be only suggested from the malice of their own Hearts; whilst Men who had any Modesty, and abhorr'd that way of proceeding, stood amaz'd and confounded at the manner and presumption of it, and without Courage to give any notable opposition to their Rage. So that, after several days spent in passionate Debates to this purpose, they Voted, "that they would make no more Addresses to the King, but proceed towards settling the Government, and providing for the Peace of the Kingdom, in such manner as they should judge best for the benefit and liberty of the Subject: and a Committee was appointed to prepare a Declaration to inform and satisfy the People of this their Resolution, and the grounds thereof, and to assure them, "that they had Lawful Authority to proceed in this manner. In the mean time, the King, who had, from the time of his coming to the Isle of *Wight*, enjoy'd the liberty of taking the Air, and refreshing himself throughout the Island, and was attended by such Servants as he had appointed, or sent for, to come thither to him, to the time that he had refused to pass those Bills, from thenceforth was no more suffer'd to go out of the Castle beyond a little ill Garden that belonged to it. And now, after this Vote of the House of Commons, that there should be no more Addresses made to him, all his Servants being removed, a few new Men, for the most part, unknown to his Majesty, were deputed to be about his Person to perform all those Offices which they believ'd might be requisite, and of whose Fidelity to themselves they were as well assured, as that they were without any Reverence or Affection to the King.

It is very true, that within few days after the King's withdrawing from *Hampton Court*, and after it was known that he was in the Isle of *Wight*, there was a meeting of the General Officers of the Army at *Windsor*, where *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were present, to consult what should be done with the King. For, though *Cromwell* was weary of the Agitators, and resolv'd to break their meetings, and though the Parliament concurr'd in all he desir'd, yet his entire confidence was in the Officers of the Army; who were they who sway'd the Parliament, and the Army it self, to bring what he intended to pass. At this conference, the preliminaries whereof were always Fastings and Prayers, made at the very Council by *Cromwell* or *Ireton*, or some other Inspired Person, as most of the

Vote of no more Addresses to the King &c.

A meeting of Cromwell and the Officers at Windsor, wherein they design the King's Destruction.

the Officers were, it was resolv'd "that the King should be "prosecuted for his Life as a Criminal Person: of which his Majesty was advertised speedily by *Watson*, Quarter Master General of the Army; who was present; and had pretended, from the first coming of the King to the Army, to have a desire to serve him, and desired to be now thought to retain it; but the Resolution was a great secret, of which the Parliament had not the least intimation, or jealousy; but was, as it had been, to be cozen'd by degrees to do what they never intended. Nor was his Majesty easily perswaded to give credit to the information; but though he expected, and thought it very probable, that they would Murder him, he did not believe they would attempt it with that formality, or let the People know their Intentions. The great approach they made towards it, was, their Declaration "that they would "make no more Addresses to the King, that by an Interregnum they might feel the pulse of the People, and discover how they would submit to another form of Government; and yet all Writs, and Process of Justice, and all Commissions, still issued in the King's Name without his consent or privacy; and little other change or alteration, but that what was before done by the King himself, and by his immediate Order, was now perform'd by the Parliament; and, instead of Acts of Parliament, they made Ordinances of the two Houses to serve all their occasions; which found the same Obedience from the People.

THIS Declaration of no more Addresses, contain'd a charge The Vote of no more Addresses sanctioned by a Declaration. against the King of whatsoever had been done amiss from the beginning of his Government, or before, not without a direct Insinuation, as if "He had conspired with the Duke of *Buckingham* against the life of his Father; the prejudice "he had brought upon the Protestant Religion in Foreign parts, by lending his Ships to the King of *France*, who employ'd them against *Rochel*: they renew'd the remembrance, and reproach of all those grievances which had been mention'd in their first Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, and repeated all the calumnies which had been contain'd in all their Declarations before and after the War; which had been all so fully Answer'd by his Majesty, that the world was convinced of their Rebellion and Treason: they charged him with being "the cause of all the blood that had been spilt, by his having made a War upon his Parliament, "and rejecting all Overtures of Peace which had been made to him; and in regard of all these things, they resolv'd to "make no more Address to him, but, by their own Authority, to provide for the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.

WHEN this Declaration was thus passed the Commons, and by them sent to the House of Peers for their concurrence, the Manner or the Matter was of that importance as to need much Debate ; but, with as little formality as was possible, it had the concurrence of that House, and was immediately Printed, and published, and new Orders sent to the Isle of *Wight*, for the more strict looking to, and guarding the King, that he might not escape.

THE publishing this Declaration wrought very different effects in the minds of the People, from what they expected it would produce ; and it appear'd to be so publicly detested, that many who had serv'd the Parliament in several unwarrantable Employments and Commissions, from the beginning of the War, in the City and in the Country, withdrew themselves from the Service of the Parliament ; and much inveigh'd against it, for declining all the Principles upon which they had engaged them. Many private Persons took upon them to publish Answers to that Declaration ; that, (the King himself being under so strict a restraint that he could make no Answer,) the People might not be poyson'd with the belief of it. And the several Answers of this kind wrought very much upon the People, who open'd their Mouths very loud against the Parliament and the Army ; and the clamour was encreased by the increase of Taxes, and Impositions, which were rais'd by new Ordinances of Parliament upon the Kingdom ; and though they were so entirely possess'd of the whole Kingdom, and the Forces and Garrisons thereof, that they had no Enemy to fear or apprehend, yet they disbanded no part of their Army ; and notwithstanding they rais'd incredible Sums of Money, upon the Sale of the Church and the Crown Lands ; for which they found Purchasers enough amongst their own Party in the City, Army, and Country, and upon composition with Delinquents, and the sale of their Lands who refused, or could not be admitted, to compound (which few refused to do who could be admitted, in regard that their Estates were all under Sequestration, and the Rents thereof paid to the Parliament, so that till they compounded they had nothing to support themselves, whereby they were driven into extreme wants and necessities, and were compelled to make their Compositions, at how unreasonable rates soever, that they might thereby be enabled to sell some part, to preserve the rest, and their Houses from being pulled down, and their Woods from being waisted or spoiled) Notwithstanding all these vast receipts, which they ever pretended should ease the People of their Burthen, and should suffice to pay the Army their expences at Sea, and Land, their debts were so great, that they rais'd the publick Taxes ; and,

besides all Customs, and Excise, they Levied a Monthly Contribution of above a hundred thousand pounds by a Land Tax throughout the Kingdom; which was more than had been ever done before, and it being at a time when they had no Enemy who contended with them, was an Evidence that it would have no end, and that the Army was still to be kept up, to make good the resolution they had taken, to have no more to do with the King; and that made the resolution generally the more odious. All this grew the more insupportable, by reason that upon the publishing this last monstrous Declaration, most of those Persons of condition, who, as hath been said before, had been seduced to do them Service throughout the Kingdom, declined to appear longer in so detestable an employment; and now a more inferior sort of the common People succeeded in those employments, who thereby exercised so great insolence over those who were in Quality above them, and who always had a power over them, that it was very grievous; and for this, let the circumstances be what they would, no redress could be ever obtain'd, all distinction of Quality being renounced. They who were not above the condition of ordinary inferior Constables, six or seven years before, were now the Justices of Peace, and Sequestrators, and Commissioners; who executed the Commands of the Parliament, in all the Counties of the Kingdom, with such rigour and Tyranny, as was natural for such Persons to use over and towards those upon whom they had formerly looked at such a distance. But let their sufferings be never so great, and the murmur and discontent never so general, there was no shadow of hope by which they might discern any possible relief: so that they who had struggled as long as they were able, submitted patiently to the Yoke, with the more satisfaction, in that they saw many of those who had been the principal Contrivers of all the mischiefs to satisfy their own Ambition, and that they might govern others, reduced to almost as ill a condition as themselves, at least to as little Power, and Authority, and Security; whilst the whole Government of the Nation remain'd, upon the matter, wholly in Their hands who in the beginning of the Parliament were scarce ever heard of, or their names known but in the places where they inhabited.

THE King being in this melancholick neglected Condition, and the Kingdom possessed by the new Rulers, without controul, in the new method of Government, where every thing was done, and submitted to, which they propounded, they yet found that there was no foundation laid for their Peace, and future Security; that beside the general discontent of the Nation, which for the present they did not fear, they were

were to expect new Troubles from *Ireland*, and from *Scotland*; which would, in the Progress, have an influence upon *England*.

IN *Ireland* (which they had totally neglected from the time of the differences and contests between the Parliament and the Army, and from the King's being in the Army) though they were possessed of *Dublin*, and upon the matter, of the whole Province of *Munster*, by the activity of the Lord *Inchiquin*, and the Lord *Broughill*; yet the *Irish* Rebels had very great Forces, which cover'd all the other parts of the Kingdom. But they had no kind of fears of the *Irish*, whom they vanquished as often as they saw, and never declined Fighting upon any inequality of Numbers: they had an apprehension of another Enemy. The Marquis of *Ormond* had often attended the King at *Hampton Court*, and had great resort to him, whilst he stay'd in *London*, by all those who had serv'd the King, and not less by those who were known to be unsatisfy'd with the proceedings both of the Parliament and the Army; and by the *Scottish* Commissioners, who had frequently private Meetings with him; insomuch as the Officers of the Army, who gave the first motion to all extravagant Acts of power, had resolv'd to have apprehended and imprison'd him, as a Man worthy of their fear, though they had nothing to charge him with; and by his Articles, he had liberty to stay six Months where he would in *England* (which time was little more than half expired) and then he might Transport himself into what part he desired beyond the Seas. The Marquis had notice of this their purpose; and having conferr'd with his Majesty as much as was necessary, upon a reasonable foresight of what was like to fall out, shortly after, or about the time that the King left *Hampton Court*, he in disguise, and without being attended by more than one Ser-
vant, rid into *Suffex*; and in an obscure and unguarded Port of *Ormond* or Harbour, put himself on board a Shallop, which safely
Transported him into *Normandy*; from whence he waited up-
on the Queen, and the Prince of *Wales*, at *Paris*; to whom
he could not but be very welcome.

AT the same time, there were Commissioners arriv'd from *Ireland* from the Confederate Roman Catholics; who, after they had driven the King's Authority from them, quickly found they needed it for their own preservation. The Factions grew so great amongst the *Irish* themselves, and the Pope's Nuncio exercised his Authority with so great Tyranny and Insolence, that all were weary of him; and found that the Parliament, as soon as they should send more Forces over, would easily, by reason of their divisions, reduce them into great straits, and necessities. They therefore sent Commis-
sioners

soners to the Queen and Prince to desire, "that by their favour, they might have the King's Authority again among them; to which they promised, for the future, a ready obedience, with many acknowledgements of their former miscarriage and ill behaviour. It is very true that the Marquis of Antrim, who was one of the Commissioners, and was always inseparable from the highest Ambition (though without any Qualifications for any great Trust) had entertain'd the hope, that by the Queen's favour, who had too good an opinion of him, the Government of Ireland should be committed to Him, and his Conduct; which none of the other Commissioners thought of, nor had their Eyes fixed on any Man but the Marquis of Ormond, in whom the King's Authority was vested; for he remain'd still Lieutenant of Ireland by the King's Commission; and they had reason to believe that all the English Protestants, who had formerly liv'd under his Government (without a conjunction with whom, they well foresaw the Irish would not be able to defend or preserve themselves) would return to the same obedience, as soon as he should return to receive it. The Queen and the Prince thought not of trusting any other in that most hazardous and difficult Employment, and so refer'd the Commissioners to make all their Overtures, and Propositions to him; who knew well enough, what they would not do if they could, and what they could not do if they had a mind to it; and how devoted soever he was to the King's Service, nothing propos'd or undertaken by them, could have been the least inducement to him to engage himself, and to depend upon their Fidelity. But there were three things, which with the great and entire Zeal for the King's Service, to which he had dedicated himself, made him believe that he might with some success appear again in that Kingdom, in this conjuncture; and that his so doing, might have a good effect upon the temper of England towards the mending his Majesty's Condition there.

FIRST, the Cardinal *Mazarin* (who then absolutely govern'd France) seem'd very earnestly to advise it, and promised to supply him with a good Sum of Money, and store of Armes and Ammunition to carry with him; which he knew very well how to dispose of there. Secondly, he was privy to the Scottish Engagement, and to a resolution of many Persons of great Honour in England, to appear in Armes at the same time; which was design'd for the Summer following; whereby the Parliament, and Army, which were like to have new divisions amongst themselves, would not be able to send any considerable Supplies into Ireland; without which, their Power there, was not like to be formidable. Thirdly, which was a greater Encouragement than the other two, he had, during

England as it said.
after of Restoration he received it again tho' not without great
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here in 1641.

The Reasons
that moved
the Marquis
into Ireland

during his abode in *England*, held a close correspondence with the Lord *Inchiquin*, President of the Province of *Munster* in *Ireland*, who had the full Power of Command of all the *English* Army there; which was a better Body of Men than the Parliament had in any other part of that Kingdom. That Lord was weary of his Masters, and did not think the Service he had done the Parliament (which indeed had been very great, and without which it is very probable that whole Kingdom had been united to his Majesty's Service) well requited; and did really and heartily abhor the Proceedings of the Parliament, and Army, towards the King; and did therefore resolve to redeem what he had formerly done amiss, with exposing all he had for his Majesty's Restoration; and had frankly promised the Marquis to receive him into *Munster*, as the King's Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and that That whole Province, and Army, should pay him all Obedience; and that against the time he should be sure of his presence, he would make a Cessation with the *Irish* in Order to a firm conjunction of that whole Kingdom for the King. After the Marquis came into *France*, he receiv'd still Letters from that Lord to hasten his Journey thither.

THESE were the Motives which disposed the Marquis to comply with the Queen's, and the Prince's Command to prepare himself for that Expedition; and so he concerted all things with the *Irish* Commissioners; who return'd into their Country, with promises to dispose their General Assembly to consent to those Conditions as might not bring a greater prejudice to the King, than any conjunction with them could be of advantage.

THE Parliament had too many Spies, and Agents at *Paris*, not to be inform'd of whatsoever was whisper'd there; but whether they undervalued any conjunction with the *Irish* (for of the Lord *Inchiquin* they had no suspicion) or were confident of the Cardinal's kindness, that he would not advance any design against them, they were not so apprehensive of Trouble from *Ireland* as they were of their Brethren from *Scotland*; where they heard of great preparations, and of a purpose to call a Parliament, and to raise an Army; which, they believ'd, would find too many Friends in *England*, the Presbyterian Party holding up their Heads again, both in the Parliament, and the City. Besides, they knew that some Persons of Quality and Interest, who had serv'd the King in good Command in the late War, were gone into *Scotland*, and well receiv'd there; which, they thought, would draw the King's Party together upon the first appearance.

AFTER the King had been so infamously deliver'd up to the Parliament by the *Scots* at *New-Castle*, and as soon as the

Army had possessed themselves of him, that Nation was in terrible Apprehension that the Officers of the Army would have made their Peace, and established their own greatness by restoring the King to his just Rights, of which they had so foully depriv'd him; and then the conscience of their guilt made them presume, what Their Lot must be; and therefore, the same Commissioners who had been joyn'd with the Committee of Parliament in all the Transactions, made hast to *Westminster* again to their old Seats, to keep their Interest; which was great in all the Presbyterian Party, both of Parliament and City; for there remain'd still the same profession of maintaining the strict Union between the two Kingdoms, and that all Transactions should be by joyn't Counsels. And as soon as the King appear'd with some shew of Liberty, and his own Servants had leave to attend him, no Men appear'd with more confidence than the *Scotish* Commissioners; the Earl of *Lowden*, the Earl of *Lausberdale*, and the rest; as if they had been the Men who had contriv'd his Restoration: No Men in so frequent Whispers with the King; and they found some way to get themselves so much believ'd by the Queen, with whom they held a diligent Correspondence, that her Majesty very earnestly perswaded the King "to trust them, "as the only Persons who had Power and Credit to do him "Service, and to redeem him from the Captivity he was in. Duke *Hamilton*, who had been sent Prisoner by the King to the Castle of *Pendennis*, and had been deliver'd from thence by the Army, when that place was taken in the end of the War, had enjoy'd his Liberty at *London*, and in his own House at *Chelsey*, as long as he thought fit, that is, near as long as the King was with the *Scotish* Army and at *New-Castle*; and some time before his Majesty was deliver'd up to the Parliament Commissioners, he went into *Scotland* to his own House at *Hamilton*; looked upon by that Nation as one who had unjustly suffer'd under the King's Jealousy, and displeasure, and who remain'd still very faithful to him; and during the time that he remain'd in and about *London*, he found means to converse with many of the King's Party, and made great professions that he would do the King a very signal Service, which he desired them to assure his Majesty of; and seem'd exceedingly troubled and ashamed at his Country Men's giving up the King. His having no share in that infamy made him the more trusted in *England*, and to be receiv'd with the more respect in *Scotland* by all those who abhor'd that Transaction.

Duke Hamilton goes into Scotland.

THE Commissioners who attended his Majesty, made great Apologies for what had been done, imputing it wholly to the "malice and power of the Marquis of *Argyle*, and to his "Credit

"Credit, and Authority in the Council, and in the Army;
 "so that nothing could be done which was desired by Honest
 "Men; but that now Duke *Hamilton* was amongst them,
 "who they knew was most devoted to his Majesty, they
 "should be able to over-power *Argyle*; and the proceedings
 "of the Army and the Parliament, were so foul, and so con-
 "trary to their publick Faith, that they were confident that
 "all *Scotland* would rise as one Man for his Majesty's defence
 "and vindication; and they were well assured, there would
 "such a Party in *England* of those who were faithful to his Ma-
 "jesty, appear at the same time, that there would be little
 "question of being able, between them, to be hard enough
 "for that part of the Army that would oppose them; which
 "his Majesty knew well was resolv'd by many Persons of Ho-
 "nour, who afterwards perform'd what they had promised.

WHEN the Commissioners had, by these Insinuations,
 gain'd new Credit with the King, and had undertaken, that
 their Invading *England* with an Army equal to the undertak-
 ing, should be the foundation upon which all other hopes
 were to depend (for no attempt in *England* could be reason-
 able before such an Invasion, which was likewise to be hasten'd,
 that it might be at the same time when the Marquis of *Ormond*
 should appear in *Ireland*) they began to propose many Con-
 ditions, which would be necessary for his Majesty to engage
 himself to perform towards that Nation; without which it
 would not be easy to induce it into so unanimous a Consent and
 Engagement, as was necessary for such an Enterprize. They
 required, as a thing without which nothing was to be under-
 taken, "that the Prince of *Wales* should be present with
 "them, and march in the head of their Army; and desired
 "that advertisement, and order, might be sent to that pur-
 "pose to the Queen, and the Prince, at *Paris*; that so his
 "Highness might be ready for the Voyage, as soon as they
 "should be prepared to receive him. The King would by no
 means consent that the Prince should go into *Scotland*, being
 too well acquainted with the manners and fidelity of that Par-
 ty there; but he was contented, that when they should have
 enter'd *England* with their Army, then the Prince of *Wales*
 should put himself in the head of them. They demanded,
 "that such a number of *Scots*-men should be always in the
 "Court, of the Bed-Chamber, and all other places about the
 "Persons of the King, and Prince, and Duke of *York*: That
 "*Berwick* and *Carlisle*, should be put into the hands of the
 "*Scots*; and some other Concessions with reference to the
 Northern Counties; which trench'd so far upon the Honour
 and Interest of the *English*, that his Majesty utterly refused to
 consent to it; and so the Agreement was not concluded

The Commis-
 sioners of
 Scotland's
 private
 Treaty with
 the King at
 Hampton
 Court.

Which Treaty was re-
new'd; and
He Sign'd it
at the Isle of
Wight.

When the King left *Hampton Court*. But, as soon as he was at the Isle of *Wight*, the *Scottish* Commissioners repaired to him, at the same time with those who were sent to him from the Parliament for his Royal Assent to those four Bills (spoken of before; then, in that season of despair, they prevailed with him to Sign the Propositions he had formerly refused; and, having great apprehension from the Jealousies they knew the Army had of them, that they should be seized upon, and searched in their return to *London*, they made up their precious Contract in Lead; and buried it in a Garden in the Isle of *Wight*; from whence they easily found means afterwards to receive it. So constant were those Men to their Principles, and so wary to be sure to be no losers by returning to their Allegiance; to which neither Conscience nor Honour did invite or dispose them. So after a stay of some Months at *London* to adjust all Accounts, and receive the remainder of those Monies they had so dearly Earn'd, or so much of it as they had hope would be paid, they return'd to *Scotland*, with the hatred and contempt of the Army, and the Parliament, that was then govern'd by it; but with the veneration of the Presbyterian Party, which still had faith in them, and exceedingly depended upon their future Negotiation; which was now incumbent upon them: and in order thereunto, a fast intercourse and correspondence was settled, as well by constant Letters, as by frequent Emissaries of their Clergy, or other Persons, whose devotion to their Combination was unquestionable.

It can never be enough wonder'd at that the *Scottish* Presbyterians, being a watchful and crafty People, the principal of whom were as unrestrain'd by Conscience as any of the Officers of the Army were, and only intended their particular advantage and ambition, should yet hope to carry on their Interest by such conditions, and limitations, as all wise Men saw must absolutely ruin and destroy it. They knew well enough the Spirit of their own People, and that though it would be no hard matter to draw a numerous Army enough together, yet that being together it would be able to do very little towards any vigorous attempt; and therefore their chief dependence was upon the Assistance they should find ready to joyn with them in *England*. It is true, they did believe the Body of the Presbyterians in *England* to be much more considerable than in truth it was; yet they did, or might have known, that the most considerable Persons who in the contest with the other Faction were content to be thought Presbyterians, were so only as they thought it might restore the King; which they more impatiently desired, than any alteration in the Government of the Church; and that they did heartily intend a conjunction with all the Royal Party, upon whose Interest, Conduct,

Conduct, and Courage, they did more rely than upon the power of the *Scots*; who did publicly profess that all the King's Friends should be most welcome, and receiv'd by them; nor did they trust any one Presbyterian in *England* with the knowledge of the Particulars contain'd in the Agreement with the King; but concealed it between the three Persons who transacted it; and if it had been known, *Cromwell* might as easily have overrun the Country before their Army invaded *England*, as he did afterwards; nor would one *English* Man have joyn'd with them. Besides the infamous Circumstances by which they extorted Concessions from the King, which would have render'd any Contract odious (it being made in those four days, which were all that were assign'd both to the *English* and *Scottish* Commissioners, so that his Majesty had not only no time to advise with others, but could not advise with Himself upon so many monstrous Particulars as were demanded of him by both Kingdoms; which if he could have done, he would no more then have submitted to them, than he did afterwards upon long deliberation, and when his Life appear'd to be in more manifest danger by his refusal) the Particulars themselves were the most scandalous, and derogatory to the Honour and Interest of the *English* Nation; and would have been abominated, if known and understood, by all Men, with all possible indignation.

AFTER they had made his Majesty give a good Testimony The substance of the Treaty Sign'd the 26. of Dec. 1647. of their League and Covenant, in the Preface of their Agreement, and "that the intentions of those who had enter'd into it, were real for the preservation of his Majesty's Person and Authority, according to their Allegiance, and no ways to diminish his just Power and Greatness, they oblig'd him as soon as he could, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, be present in a free Parliament, to confirm the said League and Covenant by Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, for the security of all who had taken, or should take it. It is true, they admitted a Proviso, "that none who was unwilling, should be constrain'd to take it. They likewise oblig'd his Majesty "to confirm by Act of Parliament in *England*, Presbyterian Government; the Directory for worship; and the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, for three years; so that his Majesty, and his Household, should not be hinder'd from using that form of Divine Service he had formerly practiced; and that during those three years there should be a Consultation with the Assembly of Divines, to which twenty of the King's nomination should be added, and some from the Church of *Scotland*; and thereupon it should be determin'd by his Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament, what form of Government should be establish'd after the expiration

"tion of those years, as should be most agreeable to the word
 "of God : that an effectual course should be taken by Act of
 "Parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient, for the
 "suppressing the opinions and practices of Anti-Trinitarians,
 "Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturists, Anabaptists, Antino-
 "mians, Arminians, Familyists, Brownists, Separatists, Inde-
 "pendents, Libertines, and Seekers, and, generally, for the
 "suppressing all Blasphemy, Heresy, Schism, and all such
 "scandalous Doctrines and practices as are contrary to the
 "light of Nature, and to the known Principles of Christia-
 "nity, whether concerning Faith, Worship, or Conversa-
 "tion, or the power of Godliness, or which may be destru-
 "ctive to Order and Government, or to the Peace of the
 "Church or Kingdom. The King promised, "that in the
 "next Session of Parliament, after the Kingdom of *Scotland*
 "should declare for his Majesty, in pursuance of this Agree-
 "ment, he should in Person, or by Commission, confirm the
 "League and Covenant in that Kingdom ; and concerning
 "all the Acts passed in the last Parliament of that Kingdom,
 "his Majesty declared, "that he should then likewise be con-
 "tent to give assurance by Act of Parliament, that neither
 "He, nor his Successors, should Quarrel, call in Question, or
 "command the contrary of any of them, nor question any for
 "giving Obedience to the same. Then they made a long re-
 "cital of "the Agreement the Parliament of *England* had made,
 "when the *Scots* Army return'd to *Scotland*, that the Army
 "under *Fairfax* should be disbanded ; and of that Army's sub-
 "mitting thereunto ; of their taking the King from *Holmby*,
 "and keeping him Prisoner till he fled from them to the Isle
 "of *Wight* ; and since that time both his Majesty, and the
 "Commissioners for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, had very earn-
 "estly desired that the King might come to *London*, in safety,
 "honour, and freedom, for a Personal Treaty with the two
 "Houses and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* ;
 "which, they said, had been granted, but that the Army
 "had, in violent manner, forced away divers Members of the
 "Parliament from the discharge of their trust, and possessed
 "themselves of the City of *London*, and all the strengths, and
 "Garrisons of the Kingdoms : And that by the strength, and
 "influence of that Army, and their adherents, Propositions
 "and Bills had been sent to the King without the advice and
 "consent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, contrary to the Treaties
 "which are between the two Kingdoms, and destructive to
 "Religion, his Majesty's just Rights, the Privileges of Parlia-
 "ment, and Liberty of the Subject ; from which Propositions,
 "and Bills, the *Scottish* Commissioners had dissented, and pro-
 "tested against, in the name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

AFTER

AFTER this preamble, and recital, they said, "that forasmuch as his Majesty is willing to give satisfaction concerning the settling Religion, and other matters in difference, as is exprest in this Agreement, the Kingdom of *Scotland* doth oblige and engage it self, first, in a peaceable way and manner to endeavour that the King may come to *London* in safety, honour, and freedom, for a Personal Treaty with the Houses of Parliament and the Commissioners of *Scotland*, upon such Propositions as should be mutually agreed on between the Kingdoms, and such Propositions as his Majesty should think fit to make; and for this end all Armies should be disbanded; and in case that this should not be granted, that Declarations should be emitted by the Kingdom of *Scotland* in pursuance of this Agreement, against the unjust proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament towards his Majesty and the Kingdom of *Scotland*; in which they would assert the Right that belonged to the Crown, in the power of the Militia, the Great Seal, bestowing of Honours and Offices of Trust, choice of the Privy Counsellors, and the Right of the King's Negative Voice in Parliament: And that the Queen's Majesty, the Prince, and the rest of the Royal Issue, ought to remain where his Majesty shall think fit in either of his Kingdoms, with safety, honour, and freedom: That, upon the issuing out this Declaration, an Army should be sent out of *Scotland* into *England*, for the preservation, and establishment of Religion; for defence of his Majesty's Person, and Authority, and restoring him to his Government, to the just Rights of the Crown, and his full Revenues; for defence of the Privileges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject; for making a firm Union between the Kingdoms under his Majesty, and his Posterity, and settling a lasting Peace. In pursuance whereof, the Kingdom of *Scotland* was to endeavour "that there might be a free and full Parliament in *England*, and that his Majesty may be with them in honour, safety, and freedom; and that a speedy period be set to the present Parliament. And they undertook, that the Army which they would raise, should be upon its march, before the Message and Declaration should be deliver'd to the Houses. It was farther agreed, "that all such in the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, as would joyn with the Kingdom of *Scotland* in pursuance of this Agreement, should be protected by his Majesty in their Persons, and Estates; and that all his Majesty's Subjects in *England* or *Ireland* who would joyn with him, in pursuance of this Agreement, might come to the *Scottish* Army, and joyn with them, or else put themselves into other Bodies in *England* or *Wales*, for prosecution of the same ends, as
"the

“the King’s Majesty should judge most convenient, and under such Commanders, or Generals of the *English* Nation, as his Majesty should think fit: And that all such should be protected by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and their Army, in their Persons and Estates; and where any injury or wrong is done unto them, they would be careful to see them fully repaired, as far as it should be in their power to do; and likewise when any injury or wrong is done to those who joyn with the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majesty shall be careful of their full reparation.

THEY obliged his Majesty to promise “that neither himself, nor any by his Authority or Knowledge, should make or admit of any Cessation, Pacification, or Agreement whatsoever for Peace, nor of any Treaty, Propositions, Bills, or any other ways for that end, with the Houses of Parliament, or any Army or Party in *England*, or *Ireland*, without the advice and consent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and, reciprocally, that neither the Kingdom of *Scotland*, nor any having their Authority, should make or admit of any of these any manner of way, with any whatsoever, without his Majesty’s advice or consent: And that, upon the settlement of a Peace, there should be an Act of Oblivion to be agreed on by his Majesty, and both his Parliaments of both Kingdoms: That his Majesty, the Prince, or both, should come into *Scotland* upon the invitation of that Kingdom, and their Declaration, that they should be in honour, freedom, and safety, when possibly they could come with safety, and convenience; and that the King should contribute his utmost endeavour, both at home and abroad, for assisting the Kingdom of *Scotland* for carrying on this War by Sea and Land, and for their Supplies by Monies, Armes, Ammunition, and all other things requisite, as also for guarding the Coasts of *Scotland* with Ships, and protecting all their Merchants in the free exercise of their Trade and Commerce with other Nations; and likewise that his Majesty was willing, and did Authorize the *Scottish* Army to possess themselves of *Berwick*, *Carlisle*, *New-Castle upon Tyne*, with the Castle of *Timmouth*, and the Town of *Hartlepool*: those places to be for Retreat, and Magazines; and that, when the Peace of the Kingdom should be settled, the Kingdom of *Scotland* should remove their Forces, and deliver back again those Towns and Castles.

AND as if all this had not been recompence enough for the wonderful Service they were like to perform, they obliged the King to promise and undertake to pay, the remainder of that Brotherly Assistance which was yet unpaid upon the large Treaty after their first Invasion of *England*, and likewise

two

two hundred thousand pounds, which remain'd still due upon the last Treaty made with the Houses of Parliament for return of the *Scotish* Army, when they had deliver'd up the King; and also, "that payment should be made to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, for the charge, and expence of their Army in this future War, with due recompence for the losses which they should sustain therein; and that due satisfaction, according to the Treaty on that behalf betwixt the two Kingdoms, should be made to the *Scotish* Army in *Ireland*, out of the Lands of the Kingdom, or otherwise: And that the King, according to the intentions of his Father, should endeavour a compleat Union of the two Kingdoms, so as they may be one under his Majesty, and his Posterity; or if that cannot speedily be effected, that all Liberties and Privileges, concerning Commerce, Traffick, Manufactures, peculiar to the Subjects of either Nation, shall be common to the Subjects of both Kingdoms without distinction; and that there be a Communication, and mutual capacity, of all other Liberties of the Subjects in the two Kingdoms: That a competent number of Ships should be yearly assign'd, and appointed out of his Majesty's Navy, which should attend the Coasts of *Scotland*, for a Guard, and freedom of Trade of that Nation; and that his Majesty should declare that his Successors, as well as Himself, are obliged to the performance of the Articles, and Conditions of this Agreement; but that his Majesty shall not be obliged to the performance of the aforesaid Articles, until the Kingdom of *Scotland* shall declare for him in pursuance of this Agreement; and that the whole Articles, and Conditions aforesaid, shall be finished, perfected, and perform'd, before the return of the *Scotish* Army; and that when they return into *Scotland*, at the same time, *simul & semel*, all Armies should be disbanded in *England*. And for a compliment, and to give a relish to all the rest, the King engaged himself "to employ those of the *Scotish* Nation equally with the *English* in all Foreign Employments, and Negotiations; and that a third part of all the Offices and Places about the King, Queen, and Prince, should be conferr'd upon some Persons of that Nation; and that the King and Prince, or one of them, will frequently reside in *Scotland*, that the Subjects of that Kingdom may be known to them. This Treaty and Agreement being thus presented to the King by the *Scotish* Commissioners in the Castle of *Carisbrook*, his Majesty was prevail'd with to sign the same the 26th day of *December* 1647; and to oblige himself, "in the word of a King, to perform His part of the said Articles; and the Earl of *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Lantherdale*, and the

the Earl of *Lawrick*, being intrusted as Commissioners from that Kingdom, sign'd it likewise at the same time; and engaged themselves "upon their Honour, Faith, and Conscience, "and all that is dear to Honest Men, to endeavour to the utmost of their power, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* should "engage to perform what was on its part to be perform'd; "which they were confident the Kingdom of *Scotland* would "do, and they themselves would hazard their Lives and Fortunes in pursuance thereof.

No Man, who reads this Treaty (which very few Men have ever done) can wonder that such an Engagement met with the fate that attended it; which contain'd so many monstrous Concessions, that, except the whole Kingdom of *England* had been likewise imprison'd in *Corisbrook* Castle with the King, it could not be imagined that it was possible to be performed; and the three Persons who were Parties to it, were too wise to believe that it could be punctually observ'd; which they used as the best Argument, and which only prevailed with the King, "that the Treaty was only made to "enable them to engage the Kingdom of *Scotland* to raise an "Army, and to unite it in his Majesty's Service; which less "than those Concessions would never induce them to do; "but when that Army should be enter'd into *England*, and "so many other Armies should be on foot of his *English* Subjects for the vindication of his Interest, there would be no "body to exact all those particulars; but every Body would "submit to what his Majesty should think fit to be done; which though it had been urged more than once before to induce the King to consent to other inconveniencies, which they would never after release to him, did prevail with him at this time. And, to confirm him in the belief of it, they were contented that it should be inserted under the same Treaty, as it was, "that his Majesty did declare, that by "the Clause of confirming Presbyterian Government by Act "of Parliament, he is neither obliged to desire the settling "Presbyterian Government, nor to present any Bills to that "effect; and that he likewise understands that no Person "whatsoever shall suffer in his Estate, nor undergo any Corporal punishment, for not submitting to Presbyterian Government; his Majesty understanding that this indemnity "should not extend to those who are mention'd in the Article "against Toleration: and to this the three Earls likewise subscribed their hands, "as Witnesses only, as they said, that his Majesty had made that Declaration in their presence, not "as Assenters; so wary they were of administering jealousy to their Masters, or of being thought to be less rigid in so Fundamental a Point, as they knew that would be thought to be.

THESE

THERE was a wonderful difference, throughout their whole proceedings, between the heads of those who were thought to sway the Presbyterian Councils, and those who govern'd the Independents, though they were equally Masters of dissimulation, and had equally malice and wickedness in their Intentions, though not of the same kind, and were equally unrestrain'd by any scruples or motions of Conscience, the Independents always doing that, which how ill and unjustifiable soever, contributed still to the end they aimed at, and to the conclusion they meant to bring to pass; whereas the Presbyterians, for the most part, did somewhat that reasonably must destroy their own end, and cross that which they first and principally design'd; and there were two Reasons that might naturally produce this ill Success to the Latter, at least hinder'd the even progress and current which favour'd the other. First, their Councils were most distracted and divided, being made up of many Men, whose humours and natures must be observ'd, and complied with, and whose concurrence was necessary to the carrying on the same designs, though their Inclinations did not concur in them; whereas the other Party was entirely led and govern'd by two or three, to whom they resign'd, implicitly, the conduct of their Interest; who advanced, when they saw it seasonable, and stood still, or retired, or even declined the way they best liked, when they saw any inconvenient jealousy awaken'd by the Progress they had made.

IN the second place, the Presbyterians, by whom I mean the *Scots*, form'd all their Councils by the Inclinations, and Affections of the People; and first consider'd how they might corrupt, and seduce, and dispose them to second their purposes; and how far they might depend upon their concurrence and assistance, before they resolv'd to make any attempt; and this made them in such a degree submit to their senseless, and wretched Clergy; whose infectious breath corrupted, and govern'd the People, and whose Authority was prevalent upon their own Wives, and in their Domestic Affairs; and yet they never communicated to them more than the outside of their designs: Whereas, on the other side, *Cromwell*, and the few others with whom he Consulted, first consider'd what was absolutely necessary to their main and determin'd end; and then, whether it were right or wrong, to make all other means subservient to it; to couzen and deceive Men, as long as they could induce them to contribute to what they desired, upon Motives how foreign soever; and when they would keep company with them no longer, or farther serve their purposes, to compel them by force to submit to what they should not be able to oppose; and so the one resolv'd, only to

to do what they believ'd the People would like and approve ; and the other, that the People should like and approve what they had resolv'd. And this difference in the measures they took, was the true cause of so different Success in all they undertook. *Machiavel*, in this, was in the right, though he got an ill name by it with those who take what he says from the report of other Men, or do not enough consider themselves what he says, and his method in speaking : (He was as great an Enemy to Tyranny and Injustice in any Government, as any Man then was, or now is ; and says) " that a Man were better be a Dog than be subject to those Passions and Appetites, which possess all Unjust, and Ambitious, and Tyrannical Persons ; but he confesses, " that they who are so transported, and have entertain'd such wicked designs as are void of all Conscience, must not think to prosecute them by the rules of Conscience, which was laid aside, or subdued, before they enter'd upon them ; they must make no scruple of doing all those impious things which are necessary to compass and support the Impiety to which they have devoted themselves ; and therefore he commends *Cæsar Borgia* for not being startled with breach of Faith, Perjuries, and Murthers, for the removal of those Men who he was sure would cross, and enervate the whole Enterprize he had resolv'd, and addicted himself to ; and blames those *Usurpers*, who had made themselves Tyrants, for hoping to support a Government by Justice, which they had assumed unjustly, and which having wickedly attempted, they manifestly lost by not being wicked enough. The common old Adage, " that he who hath drawn his Sword against his Prince, ought to throw away the Scabbard, never to think of sheathing it again, will still hold good ; and they who enter upon unwarrantable Enterprizes, must pursue many unwarrantable ways to preserve themselves from the penalty of the first guilt.

CROMWELL, though the greatest Dissembler living, always made his Hypocrisy of singular use and benefit to him ; and never did any thing, how ungracious or imprudent soever it seem'd to be, but what was necessary to the design ; even his roughness and unpolishedness, which, in the beginning of the Parliament, he affected contrary to the smoothness, and complacency, which his Cousin, and bosom Friend, Mr *Hambden* practiced towards all Men, was necessary ; and his first publick Declaration, in the beginning of the War, to his Troop when it was first Muster'd, " that he would not deceive " or couzen them by the perplexed and involv'd expressions " in his Commission, to Fight for King and Parliament ; and therefore told them, " that if the King chanced to be in the " Body of the Enemy that he was to Charge, he would as " soon

"soon discharge his Pistol upon him, as any other private
 "Person; and if their Conscience would not permit them to
 "do the like, he advis'd them not to lift themselves in his
 "Troop, or under his Command; which was generally look-
 ed upon as imprudent, and malicious, and might, by the pro-
 fessions the Parliament then made, have prov'd dangerous to
 him; yet serv'd his turn, and sever'd from others, and united
 among themselves, all the furious, and incens'd Men against
 the Government, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, to look up-
 on him as a Man for their turn, upon whom they might de-
 pend, as one who would go through his work that he under-
 took. And his strict and unfociable Humour in not keeping
 company with the other Officers of the Army in their Jollities,
 and Excesses, to which most of the superior Officers under the
 Earl of Essex were inclined, and by which he often made
 himself ridiculous or contemptible, drew all those of the like
 four or reserv'd Natures, to his Society and Conversation, and
 gave him opportunity to form their Understandings, Inclina-
 tions, and Resolutions, to his own Model. By this he grew
 to have a wonderful Interest in the Common Soldiers, out of
 which, as his Authority increased, he made all his Officers,
 well instructed how to live in the same manner with their
 Soldiers, that they might be able to apply them to their own
 purposes: whilst he looked upon the Presbyterian Humour
 as the best incentive to Rebellion, no Man more a Presby-
 terian; he sung all Psalms with them to their Tunes, and
 lov'd the longest Sermons as much as they; but when he dis-
 cover'd that they would prescribe some limits and bounds to
 their Rebellion, that it was not well breathed, and would ex-
 pire as soon as some few particulars were granted to them in
 Religion, which he cared not for; and then that the Go-
 vernment must run still in the same Chanel; it concern'd
 him to make it believ'd "that the State had been more De-
 "linquent than the Church, and that the People suffer'd more
 "by the Civil than by the Ecclesiastical Power; and therefore
 "that the Change of one, would give them little ease, if there
 "were not as great an alteration in the other, and if the
 "whole Government in both were not reform'd, and alter'd;
 which though it made him generally odious at first, and ir-
 reconciled many of his old Friends to him; yet it made those
 who remain'd, more cordial and firm: he could better com-
 pute his own strength, and upon whom he might depend.
 This discovery made him contrive the new Model of the
 Army; which was the most unpopular Act, and disobligh'd all
 those who first contriv'd the Rebellion, and who were the
 very Soul of it; and yet, if he had not brought that to pass,
 and

and changed a General, who, though not very sharp-sighted, would never be govern'd, nor applied to any thing he did not like, for another who had no Eyes, and so would be willing to be led, all his designs must have come to nothing, and He remain'd a private Colonel of Horse, not considerable enough to be in any figure upon an advantageous Composition.

AFTER all the Successes of his new Model, he saw his Army was ballanced by that of the *Scots*, who took themselves to have equal merit with the other, and was thought to have contributed no less towards the suppression of the King, than that under *Fairfax* had done; and after all the Victories, and Reduction of the King to that lowness, desired still a composition, and to submit again to the Subjection of the King; nor was it yet time for him to own or communicate his resolution to the contrary, lest even many of those who wished the extirpation of Monarchy, might be startled at the difficulty of the Enterprize, and with the Power that was like to oppose them. He was therefore first to incense the People against the *Scottish* Nation, "as being a mercenary aid, entertain'd at a vast Charge to the Kingdom, that was only to be paid their Wages, and to be dismissed, without having the honour to judge with them upon what conditions the King should be receiv'd, and restored; the accomplishing whereof, ought to be the particular Glory of the Parliament without a Rival, and that the King might owe the benefit wholly to them. And this was as popular an Argument as he could embark himself in, the whole Kingdom in general having at that time a great detestation of the *Scots*; and they who most desired the King's Restoration, wish'd that he might have as little obligation to them as was possible, and that they might have as little credit afterwards with him. With this universal Applause, he compelled the *Scottish* Army to depart the Kingdom, with that circumstance as must ever after render them odious and infamous. There now seem'd nothing more dangerous and destructive to the power and interest of the *English* Army, in so general a discontent throughout the Kingdom, than a division, and mutiny within it self; that the Common Soldiers should erect an Authority distinct from their Officers, by which they would choose to govern against their Superior Commanders, at least without them, and to fancy that they had an Interest of their own sever'd from theirs, for the preservation whereof they were to trust none but themselves; which had scarce ever been heard of before in any Army, and was looked upon as a presage of the ruin of the whole, and of those who had adhered to them; yet, if he had

not raised this seditious Spirit in the Army, he could not have prevented the disbanding some part of it, and sending another part of it into *Ireland*, before the *Scots* left *New Castle*; nor have been able to have taken the King from *Holmby* into the hands of the Army, after the *Scots* were gone. And after all his Hypocrisy towards the King and his Party, by which he prevented many inconveniencies which might have befallen him, he could never have been rid of him again so unapproachfully, as by his changing his own countenance, and giving cause to the King to suspect the safety of his Person, and thereupon to make his Escape from the Army; by which his Majesty quickly became a Prisoner, and so was depriv'd of any resort, from whence many mischiefs might have proceeded to have disturbed his Counsels. How constantly he pursued this method in his subsequent Actions, will be observ'd in its place.

CONTRARY to this the Presbyterian *Scots* proceeded, in all their Actions after their first Invasion in the year 1640, and always interwove some Conditions in their Counsels and Transactions, which did not only prove, but, in the instant, might have been discern'd to be, diametrically opposite to their publick Interest, and to their particular Designs. It is very true, that their first Invasion, saving their breach of Allegiance, might have some excuse from their Interest. They were a poor People, and though many particular Men of that Nation had receiv'd great Bounties, and were exceedingly enriched in the Court of *England* by King *James* and the present King, yet those particular Men who had been, and then were in the Court, were, for the most part, Persons of little Interest in *Scotland*; nor was that Kingdom at all enriched by the conjunction with this; and they thought themselves exposed to some late pressures, which were new to them, and which their Preachers told them "were against Conscience, "and an Invasion of their Religion; from which they had vindicated themselves so rudely, and unwarrantably, that they might well expect to be called to an account hereafter, if those Persons whom they had most provoked, retain'd their interest still with the King, and in his Councils; from whom they were promised to be secured, and to be well paid for their pains, if they would, by marching into *England* with an Army, give their Friends their countenance to own their own grievances, and so to procure Relief and Security for both Kingdoms. In this Enterprize, the Success crown'd their work; they were thought a Wise, and Resolute Nation; and after an unbloody War of above a year, they return'd into their Country laden with Spoils and great Riches; and were

liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as for coming into *England*. But from their return from this Expedition, their whole true Interest consisted in, and depended upon, an entire adhering to the King, and vindicating his Honour and Interest from all Assaults; and their being suborn'd afterwards (when the King was in a hopeful way to have reduced his *English* Rebels to their Obedience, by the strength and power of his Arms) to make a second Invasion of the Kingdom, was a weak and childish Engagement, directly opposite to their Interest, except they had at the same time a Resolution to have changed their own Government, and for ever to have renounced Subjection to Monarchy (which was never in their purpose to do) or to withdraw it from the present King. Again, when his Majesty had trusted them so far (which they had never reason to expect) as to put his Royal Person into their hands, and thereby given them an opportunity to redeem themselves in the Eyes of the World, and to undo some part of the mischief they had done, it was surely their Interest to have joyn'd cordially with him, and firmly to have united themselves to his Party in vindication of the Law, and the Government established; and if they had not had the Courage at that time to have looked the *English* Army in the face, as apparently they had not, it had been their Interest to have retired with the King in the Head of their Army into *Scotland*; and, leaving good Garrisons in *New-Castle*, *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*, all which were in their possession, to have expected a Revolution in *England* from the Divisions amongst themselves, and from some conjunction with a strong Body of the King's *English* Party, which would quickly have found themselves together; but the delivery of the King up, besides the infamy of it, was, in view, destructive to all that could be thought their Interest.

AFTER all this, when they found themselves couzen'd and deceiv'd in all the measures they had taken, and laughed at and despised by those who had deceiv'd them, to have a new opportunity to serve the King, and then to insist upon such Conditions as must make it impossible for them to serve him effectually, was such a degree of weakness, and a deprav'd understanding, that they can never be looked upon as Men who knew what their Interest was, or what was necessary to advance their own designs. And yet we shall be obliged to observe how incorrigibly they adher'd to this obstinate and froward Method, in all the Transactions they afterwards had with the King; all which turn'd, as it could not but do, to their own Ruin, and the Destruction of that Idol they Ador'd, and paid their Devotion to. But it is time to return to our discourse,

discourse, from whence this tedious digression hath misled us.

ALL designs and Negotiations, abroad and at home, being in this state and condition, the King remain'd under a strict, and disconsolate imprisonment, no Man being suffer'd to speak with him, and all diligence used to intercept all Letters which might pass to, or from him; yet he found means sometimes, by the affection and fidelity of some Inhabitants of the Island, to receive important Advertisements from his Friends; and to write to and receive Letters from the Queen; and so he inform'd her of the *Scottish* Transaction, and of all the other hopes he had; and seem'd to have some ease; and looked upon it as a good Omen, that in that desperate lowness of his Fortune, and notwithstanding all the care that was taken that none should be about him but Men of inhuman tempers and natures, void of all reverence towards God and Man, his Majesty's gracious disposition, and generous affability still wrought upon some Soldier, or other Person placed about him, to undertake, and perform some Offices of trust, in conveying Papers to and from him. So great a force and influence had Natural duty; or some desperate Men had so much craft, and forecast, to lay out a little application that might bring advantage to them in such a change as they neither looked for, nor desired. But many who did undertake to perform those Offices, did not make good what they promised; which made it plain, they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more usefully betray.

IN the Parliament, there was no opposition or contradiction in any thing relating to the Publick; but in all those Transactions which concern'd particular Persons, with reference to Rewards, Preferments, or matter of profit, Men were consider'd according to the Party they were of; every day those receiv'd benefit who had appear'd most to adhere to the Army; the notorious Presbyterians were remov'd from places of Profit and Authority; which vexed them; and well prepared and disposed them to be ready for revenge. But the Pulpit-Skirmishes were higher than ever; the Presbyterians, in those fields, losing nothing of their Courage, having a notorious power in the City; notwithstanding the emulation of the Independents, who were more Learned and Rational; who, though they had not so great Congregations of the Common People, yet infected, and were followed by, the most substantial, and wealthy Citizens; and by others of better condition. To these Men *Cromwell*, and most of the Officers of the Army adhered, with bitterness against the other. But the Divinity of the time was not to be judged by the Preach-

ing, and Congregations in Churches, which were now though not to be the fit and proper places for Devotion and Religious Assemblies, where the Bishops had exercised such illimited Tyranny, and which had been polluted by their Original Consecrations. Liberty of Conscience was now become the great Charter; and Men who were *inspired*, Preached and Prayed, when, and where they would. *Cromwell* himself was the greatest Preacher; and most of the Officers of the Army, and many Common Soldiers, shew'd their *gifts* that way. Anabaptists grew very numerous, with whom the Independents concurr'd so far as to joyn with them for the utter abolishing of Tithes, as of Judaical Institution; which was now the patrimony of the Presbyterians, and therefore prosecuted by one Party, and defended by the other, with equal passion, and Animosity. If any honest Man could have been at so much ease as to have beheld the prospect with delight, never was such a scene of confusion, as at this time had spread it self over the face of the whole Kingdom.

*The Prince's
condition at
Paris*

DURING all this time, the Prince remain'd at *Paris* under the Government of his Mother; exercised with that strictness, that though his Highness was above the Age of seventeen years, it was not desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition the Royal Family was in. The Assignation which was made by the Court of *France* for the better support of the Prince, was annexed to the Monthly allowance given to the Queen, and receiv'd by Her, and distributed as she thought fit; such Clothes and other necessaries provided for his Highness as were thought convenient; her Majesty desiring to have it thought that the Prince lived entirely upon her, and that it would not consist with the dignity of the Prince of *Wales* to be a Pensioner to the King of *France*. Hereby none of his Highness's Servants had any pretence to ask Money, but they were to be contented with what should be allow'd to them; which was dispensed with a very sparing hand; nor was the Prince himself ever Master of ten Pistols to dispose as he desired. The Lord *Jermyn* was the Queen's chief Officer, and govern'd all Her receipts, and he lov'd plenty so well, that he would not be without it, whatever others suffer'd. All who had any relation to the Prince, were to implore His aid; and the Prince himself could obtain nothing but by Him; which made most Persons of Honour of the *English* Nation who were driven into Banishment, as many of the Nobility and chief Gentry of the Kingdom then were, choose rather to make their residence in any other place, as *Caen*, *Rouen*, and the like, than in *Paris*, where the Prince was, and could do so little: no

was this Oeconomy well liked even in *France*, nor the Prince himself so much respected as he would have been if he had liv'd more like himself, and appear'd more concern'd in his own Business.

WHEN the Marquis of *Ormond* came thither, he was receiv'd very graciously by the Queen, and consulted with in all things, being the Person most depended upon to begin to give a turn to their Fortune, recommended to them by the King, and of the most universal Reputation of any Subject the King had. He pressed a speedy dispatch, that he might pursue his design in *Ireland*; where he longed to be, whilst the Affairs of that Kingdom were no more taken to heart by the Parliament, who had yet sent no supplies thither. He inform'd the Queen, and the Lord *Jermyn*, of the necessity of hastning that work, which they understood well enough by the *Irish* Commissioners; who had been there, and had been sent back with a million of promises, a Coyn that Court always abounded with, and made most of its payments in.

WHEN the Queen, who was as zealous for the dispatch as was possible, pressed the Queen Regent, and the Cardinal, upon it, she receiv'd in words all the satisfaction imaginable, and assurance that all things should be speedily provided; and when the Marquis spoke first with the Cardinal upon the subject, he found him well disposed; making such ample promises for a very good Sum of Money, and such a Proportion of Armes; and Ammunition, as could be wished. So that he thought he had no more to do, but to appoint the place for his Embarkation, that those Provisions might be sent thither to meet him; and that he should be ready to Transport himself within a very short time; of which he gave notice to those who expected him in *Ireland*, and prepared all his own Accommodations accordingly. But he was very much disappointed in his expectation; the Cardinal was not so confident of the recovery of the King's Affairs as to disoblige the Parliament by contributing towards it: so that Affair advanced very slowly.

HAVING now, contrary to the order formerly observ'd by Me, crowded in all the particular passages, and important Transactions of two whole years into this Book, that I might not interrupt, or discontinue the relation of the mysterious Proceedings of the Army, their great Hypocrisy, and Dissimulation, practiced towards the King and his Party, and then their pulling off their Mask, and appearing in their natural dress of Inhumanity and Savageness, with the vile Artifices of the *Scottish* Commissioners to draw the King into their hands,

and then their low and base compliance, and gross folly, in delivering him up, and lastly their absurd and merchandly Trafficking with him for the price of returning to their Allegiance, when there was no other way of preserving themselves, and their Nation from being destroyed, the many woeful Tragedies of the next year, which filled the World with amazement and horror, must be the subject of the discourse of the next Book.

THE END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

THE

T H E

History of the Rebellion, &c.

B O O K XI.

Deut. xxix. 24.

Even all Nations shall say, wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this Land? what meaneth the heat of this great Anger?

Lam. ii. 7.

The Lord hath cast off his Altar; he hath abhorred his Sanctuary; he hath given up into the hand of the Enemy the Walls of his Palaces; they have made a noise in the House of the Lord as in the day of a solemn feast.

IF a universal discontent and murmuring of the three Nations, and almost as general a detestation both of the Temper Parliament and Army, and a most passionate desire that of the Nation all their follies and madness might be forgotten in restoring as this the King to all they had taken from him, and in settling that blessed Government they had deprived themselves of, could have contributed to his Majesty's recovery, never People were better disposed to erect and repair again the Building they had so maliciously thrown and pulled down. In *England* there was a general discontent amongst all sorts of Men; many Officers and Soldiers who had serv'd the Parliament from the beginning of the War, and given too great Testimonies of their Courage and Fidelity to their Party, and had been disbanded upon the new Model; looked upon the present Army with hatred, as those who reaped the Harvest and Reward of their Labours, and spake of them and against them

*The Affairs
of Ireland
during the
Lord Liffle's
being there.*

them in all places accordingly: The Nobility and Gentry who had advanced the Credit and Reputation of the Parliament by concurring with it against the King, found themselves totally neglected, and the most inferior People prefer'd to all places of trust and profit: The Presbyterian Ministers talked very loud; their Party appear'd to be very numerous, and the expectation of an attempt from *Scotland*, and the importunity and clamour from *Ireland*, for supplies of Men and Money against the *Irish*, who grew powerful, raised the Courage of all discontented Persons to meet and confer together, and all to inveigh against the Army, and the Officers who corrupted it. The Parliament bore no reproach so concernedly, as that of "the want of supplies to *Ireland*, and that, having "so great an Army without an Enemy, they would not spare "any part of it to preserve that Kingdom. This Argument made a new warmth in the House of Commons, they who had been silent, and given over insisting upon the insolence and presumption of the Army, which had prevailed, and crushed them, took now new Spirit, and pressed the relief of *Ireland* with great earnestness, and in order thereunto made great inquisition into the Expences of the Money, and how such vast Sums receiv'd had been disbursed; which was a large Field, and led them to many Mens doors upon whom they were willing to be revenged.

THERE was a design this way to get the Presbyterians again into power, and that they might get the Command of an Army for the subduing the Rebels in *Ireland*. *Cromwell* had, for the quieting the Clamours from thence, got the Lord *Liffle*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Leicester*, to be sent under the Title of Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom thither, with a Commission for a limited time. He had Landed in *Munster*, either out of the Jealousy they had of the Lord *Inchiquin*, or because the best part of their Army of *English* were under his Command in that Province. But that Expedition gave the *English* no relief, nor weaken'd the power or strength of the *Irish*, but rather increased their Reputation by the Faction and bitterness that was between the Lieutenant and the President, who writ Letters of complaint one against the other to the Parliament, where they had both their Parties which adhered to them. So that, the time of his Commission being expired, and the contrary Party not suffering it to be renew'd, the Lord *Liffle* return'd again into *England*, leaving the Lord *Inchiquin*, whom he meant to have destroyed, in the entire possession of the Command, and in greater Reputation than he was before. And, in truth, he had preserv'd both with wonderful dexterity, expecting every day the Arrival of the Marquis of *Ormond*, and every day informing the Parliament of the

the ill Condition he was in, and pressing for a supply of Men and Money, when he knew they would send neither.

UPON the return of the Lord *Lisle* the Presbyterians renewed their design, and caused Sr *William Waller* to be named for Deputy or Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the rather (over and above his merit, and the experience they had had of his Service) because he could quickly draw together those Officers and Soldiers which had serv'd under him, and were now disbanded, and would willingly again engage under their old General. At the first, *Cromwell* did not oppose this motion, but consented to it, being very willing to be rid both of *Waller*, and all the Officers who were willing to go with him, who he knew were not his Friends, and watched an opportunity to be even with him. But when he saw *Waller* insist upon great Supplies to carry with him, as he had reason to do, and when he consider'd of what consequence it might be to him and all his designs, if a well form'd and disciplined Army should be under the power of *Waller*, and such Officers, he changed his mind; and first set his Instruments to cross such a supply of Men and Money, as he had propos'd; "the one, as more than necessary for the Service, and the other as more than they could spare from their other occasions: And when this check was put to *Waller's* Engagement, he caus'd *Lambert* to be propos'd for that Expedition, a Man who was then fast to the same Interest He embrac'd, and who had gotten a great Name in the Army. He formalized so long upon this, that *Ireland* remained still unsupplied; and their Affairs there seem'd to be in a very ill Condition.

THE *Scots* made so much noise of their purposes, even before their Commissioners left *London*, and gave such constant Advertisements of the impatience of their Country-men to be in Arms for the King, though they made no hast in providing for such an Expedition, that both the Presbyterians, who were their chief Correspondents, and the Royal Party, be-thought themselves how they might be ready; the one, that they might redeem themselves from their former Guilt, and the other, that they might not only have a good part in freeing the King from his Imprisonment, but be able to preserve him in Liberry from any Presbyterian Impositions, which they still apprehended the *Scots* might endeavour to oppose, though they had no suspicion of the Engagement lately mention'd at the Isle of *Wight*.

THE Earl of *Holland*, who had done twice very notoriously amiss, and had been, since his return from *Oxford*, notably despised by all Persons of Credit in the Parliament and the Army, had a mind to redeem his former faults by a new and thorough Engagement. He had much Credit by

Waller nominated General there, has oppos'd by *Cromwell*; who propos'd *Lambert*.

The Earl of *Holland* prepares to rise with the Duke of *Bucks* and others.

descent and by alliance with the Presbyterian Party, and was privy to the undertakings of *Scotland*, and had constant Intelligence of the advance that was made there. His Brother, the Earl of *Warwick*, had undergone some mortification with the rest, and had not that Authority in the Naval Affairs as he had used to have, though he was the High Admiral of *England* by Ordinance of Parliament, and had done them extraordinary Services. He did not restrain, or endeavour to suppress the Earl of *Holland's* discontents, but inflamed them, and promised to joyn with him, as many others of that Gang of Men did; resolving that the *Scots* should not do all that work, but that they would have a share in the merit. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother, the Lord *Francis Villiers*, were newly return'd from Travel, and though both very young, were strong and active Men, and being, in respect of their Infancy, uningaged in the late War, and so unhurt by it, and coming now to the possession of large Estates, which they thought they were obliged to venture for the Crown upon the first opportunity, they fell easily into the Friendship of the Earl of *Holland*, and were ready to Embark themselves in his Adventure. The Earl had made tender of his Resolutions to his old Mistress the Queen at *Paris*, who was always disposed to trust him, and the Lord *Fermyn* and He renewed their former Friendship, the warmth whereof had never been extinguished.

So a Commission was sent from the Prince to the Earl to be General of an Army, that was to be raised for the redemption of the King from Prison, and to restore the Parliament to its freedom. The Earl of *Peterborough*, and *John Mordaunt* his Brother, the Family of the Earl of *Norhampton*, and all the Officers who had serv'd the King in the War, with which the City of *London*, and all Parts of the Kingdom abounded, applied themselves to the Earl of *Holland*, and receiv'd Commissions from him for several Commands.

THIS Engagement was so well known, and so generally spoken of, that they concluded that the Parliament durst not take notice of it, or wished well to it. And there is no question, never undertaking of that Nature was carried on with so little reservation; there was scarce a County in *England*, in which there was not some Association enter'd into to appear in Armes for the King. They who had the principal Command in *Wales* under the Parliament, sent to *Paris* to declare, "that, if they might have supply of Armes and Ammunition, "and a reasonable Sum for the payment of their Garrisons, "they would declare for the King, having the chief places "of those Parts in their Custody. The Lord *Fermyn* encouraged all those Overtures with most positive Undertaking, that

that they should be supplied with all they expected, within so many days after they should declare; which they depended upon, and he, according to his custom, never thought of after; by which the Service miscarried, and many Gallant Men were lost.

CROMWELL, to whom all these Machinations were known, chose rather to run the hazard of all that such a loose Combination could produce, than, by seizing upon Persons, to engage the Parliament in Examinations, and in Parties; the inconvenience whereof he apprehended more; finding already that the Presbyterian Party had so great an influence upon the General, that he declared to him, "He would not march against the *Scots*, whom he had a good mind to have visited before their Counsels and Resolutions were form'd; and *Cromwell* had reason to believe, that *Fairfax* would be firm to the same mind, even after they should have invaded the Kingdom.

ALL things being in this forwardness in *England*, it is fit The Scots preparations for an Expedition into England. to enquire how the *Scots* complied with their obligations, and what Expedition they used in raising their Army. After the Commissioners return from *London*, upon the King's being made Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, it was long before the Marquis of *Argyle* could be prevailed with to consent that a Parliament should be called. He had made a fast Friendship with *Cromwell*, and *Vane*; and knew that in this new stipulation with the King, the *Hamiltonian* Faction was the great Undertaker, and meant to have all the Honour of whatsoever should follow. And yet the Duke upon his return to *Scotland* liv'd at first very privately at his own House; seldom went abroad to any Meeting; and to those who came to him, and to whom that Resolution would be grateful, he used to speak darkly, and as a Man that thought more of revenge upon those who had Imprison'd him, than of assisting the Crown to recover the Authority it had lost. *Argyle*, whose power was over that violent Party of the Clergy which would not depart from the most rigid clause in the Covenant, and were without any reverence for the King or his Government, discern'd that he should never be able to hinder the calling of a Parliament, which the People generally called for, and that he should sooner obtain his end by puzzling their proceedings, and obstructing their determinations, after they should be assembled, than by obstinately opposing their coming together. So Summons were issued for the Convention of a Parliament; and they who appear'd most concern'd for the King, and to set him at Liberty from his Imprisonment (which was all they pretended) were the Earl of *Lawrick*, Brother to Duke *Hamilton*, and then restored to his Office of

of Secretary of *Scotland*, who had been Imprison'd at *Oxford*, and made his escape from thence; and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, who had been with the forwardest from the beginning of the Rebellion, when he was scarce of Age, and prosecuted it to the end with most eminent Fierceness and Animosity.

The Characters of Lautherdale.

THEY were both Men of great Parts and Industry, though they lov'd Pleasures too; both Proud and Ambitious; the former, much the civiler and better bred, of the better Nature, and better Judgement, and an openness and clearness more to be trusted and relied upon than most Men of that Party: the latter, Insolent, Imperious, Flattering, and Dissembling, fitter for Intrigues and Contrivances by the want of the Ingenuity which the other had, and by the Experience and Practice he had in the Committee of both Kingdoms in their darkest designs. The former, was a Man of Honour and Courage; the latter, had Courage enough not to fail where it was absolutely necessary, and no impediment of Honour to restrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his passions.

THESE two were the chief Managers and Contrivers to carry on this Affair; for though the Chancellor, the Earl of *Lowden*, had been a Commissioner in *England*, and as privy to the Treaty with the King, and had made as many professions and protestations of duty to him as they, and indeed was willing to perform them, yet he was so obnoxious for his loose and vitious Life, which was notorious, that he durst not provoke *Argyle* or the Clergy by dissenting from them. They used all the Interest and Skill they had, to get such Elections in the Boroughs of Members for the Parliament as might comply with them; and the People generally were exceedingly offended, and ashamed of the infamous delivery up of the King to the *English*, to which they imputed all the danger that threaten'd them, and the reproach and infamy that lay upon their Country; and so had great prejudice to all Men who were thought to be the cause of it.

The Parliament met in Scotland; and their deliberations.

AT the opening of the Parliament, they did all they could to inflame the People against the Army in *England*; which, they said, "had forced the Parliament there to break the Treaty between the two Kingdoms in their ill usage of the King, who was Imprison'd by the Army, nor was it in the power of the Parliament to set him at Liberty: That they had now, upon the matter, absolutely deposed him, by not suffering him to perform the Office of a King, nor permitting any of his Subjects to repair to him; in which the Kingdom of *Scotland* was concern'd, in that being independent upon *England*, and the Parliament of *England*, they were

“were by them depriv’d of their King, and could not be admitted to speak with him, nor his Majesty to send to them ; which was such a presumption, and violation of the Law of Nations, and such a perfidious breach and contempt of the solemn League and Covenant, and of the Treaty between the two Kingdoms, that they were bound by all the obligations Humane and Divine to be sensible of it, and to redeem their King’s Liberty, and their own Honour, with the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes and all that was dear to them : and therefore they desired that they might enter upon those Counsels, which might soonest get an Army together, which should no sooner enter *England*, but it would find a conjunction from that whole Kingdom, except only the Army ; and that it would then quickly appear that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms desired the same thing, and to live happily under the Government of the same King.

THIS discourse, urged and seconded by many of the principal Men, was entertain’d by the rest with so general a reception, that *Argyle* found it would be to no purpose directly to contradict or oppose it. He saw the Election of the Knights and Burgeſſes had ſucceeded according to the wiſhes of the other Lords, and that they would concur with whatever was propoſed ; and he found likewiſe that they had wrought upon the greateſt part of their Clergy ; who believ’d all they ſaid to them. He did not therefore oppose any thing propoſed by them, but only deſired, “that they would very well weigh the manner of their proceeding in an affair of ſo great concernment, which was like to terminate in a bloody War between the two Kingdoms ; which had hitherto proceeded as Brethren, and had both reaped great benefit and advantage from the conjunction : and he hoped there was no purpoſe to ſhake any of thoſe foundations which had been laid in the years by-gone, which ſupported that Government, and made that Kingdom happy ; which if diſſolv’d, all the miſchief and tyranny they had formerly felt and undergone, would break in upon them with a torrent that ſhould deſtroy them. Every Body declared, “that there was no purpoſe to ſwerve, in the leaſt degree, from what was eſtabliſh’d for the Government in either Kingdom, by their ſolemn League and Covenant, which they had in perfect veneration, and look’d upon it as an obligation upon them to do all that had been propoſed ; upon which *Argyle* acquieſced as ſatisfied, not doubting but that, in the proſecution of their Counſels, he ſhould find opportunity enough to obſtruct the quick progreſs, and to interrupt the concluſion, and execution.

THE

Sr M Lang-
dale and Sr
P. Musgrave
and others, treat-
ed with by
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THE Lords who had been in *England*, and frequented *Hampton Court*, whilst the King was there, to make themselves the more gracious, had treated all the King's Party with all manner of caresses, and more particularly had much applied themselves to those Gentlemen of the North who had most eminently serv'd the King, and who had good Fortunes there to support their Interest. Of this kind there were two very notable Men, Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sr *Philip Musgrave*; both Men of large and plentiful Estates, the one in *Tork-shire*, the other in *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*; who having been in the time of Peace eminent in their Country in the Offices of Justices of Peace, and Deputy Lieutenants, had, in the beginning of the War, engaged themselves in Commands in the King's Army with great reputation of stout, diligent, and active Officers; and continued to the end, and had not after applied themselves to make any composition, but expected a new opportunity to appear with their Swords in their hands. They were both look'd upon by the Parliament, and the chief Officers of the Army, with great jealousy, as Men worthy to be fear'd, and who could never be induced to comply with them. The *Scotish* Lords had not been scrupulous to let these two Gentlemen know what they intended, and "that they made no question but they should engage their whole Kingdom and Nation to enter into a present War with *England* on the King's behalf; and therefore defired them, by the Interest, and Influence they had upon the Northern Counties, to dispose them to a conjunction with them. And because they knew that they two were too notorious to stay with any Security about *London*, much less in their own Country, they invited them into *Scotland*, where they assured them, "they should not only be safe, but very welcome; and should be Witnesses of their proceedings, and have parts of their own to act in, as soon as the Season should be ripe.

THESE Gentlemen, though they had been hitherto unhurt, and whilst the Army made those professions towards the King, had been much courted by the chief Officers thereof, and had been Quarter'd with them as Friends, knew well, now the Mask was off, that if they did not immediately apply themselves to make their compositions, they should be apprehended, and imprisoned. And therefore, being persuaded that the *Scots* would engage for the King, they accepted their Invitation, and told them, "they should quickly find them in *Scotland* after their own return. Accordingly, after having secretly spent some time in their own Countries, and directed their Friends to be in a readiness when they should be called upon, and in the mean time settled a way

how to correspond together, they went into *Scotland* to those who had invited them, and were receiv'd by them with civility enough. They own'd such a wariness, in respect of the jealousies amongst themselves, and the ill Arts of *Argyle*, that they desired them "for some time to withdraw to some place (which they recommended to them) "and there to remain in "secret, and under feigned Names, until the calling of the "Parliament; at which time they might come to *Edenborough*, "and appear in their own likeness with all freedom. So after having remain'd in that private manner, where they were well treated for some Months, when the Parliament was assembled at *Edenborough*, they return'd thither; and were very well look'd upon by all that knew them; which made them behave themselves with the more freedom and confidence in their conversation, the foremention'd Lords telling them all they meant to do, and what Arts they were to use till they could get their Army up, towards which they believ'd they had master'd the greatest difficulties.

THOUGH the *Scotish* Commissioners had withdrawn from *London*, shortly after they had protested loudly against the proceedings of the Parliament, both in imprisoning the King, and in refusing to give them leave to repair to him, or to receive from him any directions or orders concerning the Government of that Kingdom, and thought it high time to provide for their own Security by quitting their Station at *London*, where they receiv'd every day Affronts, and their Persons were exposed to contempt; yet there were no sooner Preparations towards a Parliament in *Scotland*, than Commissioners were sent from the Lords and Commons at *Westmin-*<sup>Commission-
ers sent from
the two
Houses into
Scotland.</sup> *ster* to reside at *Edenborough*, as if they hoped to over-vote them there too; and it was evident quickly that they were not without a strong or at least an active Party there. They were receiv'd with the same shew of respect, and the same care was taken for their Accommodation, as had been when they first came for contriving of the Covenant; not only the Marquis of *Argyle*, and his Party, very diligently visited them, and perform'd all offices of respect towards them, but even the *Hamiltonian* Faction, and they who were most solicitous to raise the War, attended them as officiously as others, and made the same professions to preserve the Peace and Amity between the two Nations.

THAT rigid Party of the Clergy which so adored the Covenant in the strictest sense of the Letter, that they did not desire to have any more dependence upon the King, but in effect to lay him aside, and to settle the Government without him, as their Brethren in *England* had resolv'd to do, were never from them, and willingly receiv'd such Presents and Pensions

Pensions from the *Englſh* Commiſſioners, as they were prepared and provided to offer to them; and much Money was given to make them ſaſt Friends. By this means nothing was reſolv'd, or propoſed in the moſt ſecret Councils, that was not forthwith imparted, and made known to them; and they behaved themſelves as haughtily and imperiouſly, as if they had their Army at hand to ſecond them. They took notice of the reſort of ſo many *Englſh* to *Edenborough*, and that there were many amongſt them who had been in Arms againſt the Parliament, and demanded "that they might either be baniſhed that Kingdom, or deliver'd to them to be ſent to the Parliament.

THEY were ſo clamorous in this Argument, and found ſo much countenance to their clamour, that they who had invited the *Englſh* thither, had not the Courage to own them; but adviſed them under-hand, "to abſent themſelves from the Town, till that ſtorm ſhould be over. And even *S^r Marmaduke Langdale*, and *S^r Philip Muſgrave*, whom, over and above all the diſcourſes held with them at *London*, the *Scottiſh* Lords had ſent to confer with as they paſſed through the Northern parts Homewards, and had then conferred with them, and deſired them "to prepare all things with their Friends for the ſurpriſal of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, when the Season ſhould be Ripe, and that they would haſten their Journey into *Scotland*, that they might be out of danger of imprisonment; even theſe Men were deſired, "either to withdraw again from *Edenborough*, or to keep their Chambers there, and not to be ſeen abroad, untill their Army ſhould be raiſed, and ſuch a General made choiſe of as would take care of their Protection. And they did not conceal from them, that they made no doubt but that *Duke Hamilton* ſhould be that General; who often conferr'd with them in private, and always aſſured them, "that whatever was, in that place and ſeaſon, diſcourſed of the Covenant, which was very neceſſary to bring their deſigns to paſs, he ſhould be no ſooner inveſted in the Command his Friends deſign'd for him, than he would manifeſt his reſolution to join with the King's Party, upon the true Intereſt of the Crown, without which he would hope for little ſucceſs in *England*: and he deſired them, "though they ſaw little appearance yet of raiſing an Army, which would be aſſoon finiſhed as begun, by the method they were accuſtom'd to uſe, that they would write very earneſtly to their Friends in *England* to begin, aſſoon as might be, to execute the deſigns they had laid, in as many parts of the Kingdom as they could upon confidence that they ſhould receive relief before they could be oppreſſed. To the ſame purpoſe they writ to the *Queen*, and

"and desired that the Prince might be in a readiness to be
 "with them against the time their Army should be ready to
 "march; which, they assured Her, should be by the begin-
 "ning of *May*. All which several Advertisements, being com-
 municated in *England*, found a People too ready to give Cre-
 dit to what was promised, and to begin the work sooner than
 they ought to have done; and yet they were hasten'd by such
 accidents, as, in truth, made their appearance even neces-
 sary.

THE King, whilst he was at *Hampton Court*, when he
 foresaw that the Army would not comply with him, as he
 once believ'd, and resolv'd to get themselves out of their
 hands, had, as is mention'd before, directed the Duke of *York*,
 who was of years to be trusted with the secret, "that, when
 "a fit opportunity should be offer'd, he should make his escape
 "into the parts beyond the Seas, and follow the directions
 "of his Mother: and about this time, when so much Action
 was expected, which probably might produce many altera-
 tions, his Majesty in all places, found some way to advertise
 the Duke, "that it would be a very proper Season for him to
 "make his escape. The Person who was entrusted to con-
 trive it was Colonel *Bamfield*, a Man of an active and infi-
 nuating Nature, and dextrous enough in bringing any thing
 to pass that he had the managing of himself. He had now no
 relation to the King's Service; he had serv'd the King in the
 late War as a Colonel of Foot, and had not behaved himself
 so well in it, as to draw any suspicion upon himself from the
 other Party, and was in truth much more conversant with the
 Presbyterian Party than with the King's. So that his repair,
 often to the place where the Duke of *York* and the other Chil-
 dren were, drew nothing of suspicion upon him.

THE Duke and his Brother and Sister were then kept at *St. James's*, where they had the liberty of the Garden and Park ^{*The escape*} of the Duke
 to walk and exercise themselves in, and Lords, and Ladies, and ^{*of York be-*}
 other Persons of Condition, were not restrain'd from resorting ^{*yond Sea*}
 thither to visit them. In this manner *Bamfield* had been some-^{*from St.*}
 times there; and after he had inform'd the Duke what he ^{*James's.*}
 was to do, and found one or two more to be trusted between
 them, that he might not become suspected by being observ'd
 to speak too often with him, he provided a small Vessel to be
 ready about the Custom House, and to have its Pass for *Hol-*
land, and then advertised the Duke to be ready in the close of
 an Evening, when playing, as he used to do, with the other
 Children, in a Room from whence there was a pair of Stairs
 to the Garden, he might, untaken notice of, get thither;
 from whence there was a door into the Park; where *Bam-*
field would meet him. And this was so well adjusted, that

the Duke came at the hour to the place ; where the other met him, and led him presently where a Coach was ready, and so carried him into a private House ; where he only stayed whilst he put on Women's Apparel, that was provided for him ; and presently, with Colonel *Bamfield* only, went into a pair of Oars that was ready ; so he passed the Bridge, and went on Board the Vessel that was ready to receive him ; which immediately hoisted Sail, and arriv'd safe in *Holland*, without any Man of the Ship having the least imagination what Freight they carried.

THE Duke, as soon as he was on Shore, and in a Lodging, resolving no longer to use his Woman's habit, stayed there till he advertised his Sister, the Princess Royal of *Orange*, of his Arrival ; who quickly took care to provide all such things as were necessary for his remove to the *Hague* ; from whence the Queen was inform'd, and so knew as soon almost where he was, as she did of his escape from *London*. The Prince was not yet ready for his remove, nor was it resolv'd which way he should go ; so that it was thought best that the Duke should, for the present, stay at the *Hague* with his Sister, till farther resolutions might be taken ; and though the Service which *Bamfield* had perform'd, was very well esteem'd, yet they thought the making him a Groom of his Bed-Chamber, would be an ample recompence, and that it was necessary to put a Person of a better Quality about his Highness, who might have a superior Command over the other Servants ; and because the Lord *Byron*, who had been made Governour of the Duke of *York* by the King, was then in *England*, secretly attending the conjuncture to appear in Armes in a quarter assign'd to him, *Sr John Berkley* was sent by the Queen to wait upon the Duke, as Governour in the absence of the Lord *Byron*, which *Bamfield* looked upon as a degradation, and bringing the Man he hated of all Men living, to have the command over him.

Sr John Berkley made his Highness's Governour in the absence of the Lord Byron.

THE Lord *Capel*, who was in the most secret part of all these Intrigues in *England*, being entirely trusted by those who would not trust any of the Presbyterians nor communicate their purposes to them, had written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who remain'd still in *Jersey*, the hopes he had of a good conjuncture, and his own resolution to Embark himself in that attempt, as soon as it should be ripe ; and had signified the King's Command to him, "that as soon as the Chancellor should be required to wait upon the Prince, he should without delay obey the Summons : and the King had likewise writ to the Queen very positively, "that when it should be necessary for the Prince to remove out of *France*, the Chancellor should have notice of it, and be required to give his

"attendance upon the Person of his Royal Highness, in the condition he had formerly done. About the beginning of *May*, in the year 1648, the Lord *Capel*, who had always corresponded with the Chancellor, and inform'd him of the State of Affairs, and all that concern'd himself, writ to him, "that all things were now so ripe, that he believ'd the Prince "would not find it fit to remain longer in *France*; and there- "upon conjured him that he would be ready, if he should be "sent for, as he was confident he would be, to attend upon "his Highness; which, he said, all the King's Friends expected he should do; and which he was resolv'd to do as soon as the Prince should be out of *France*, though he should receive no order or invitation so to do.

ABOUT the middle of *May*, the Queen, according to his Majesty's Command, sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Jersey*, commanding, "that he would wait upon the Prince in the *Lowre* at *Paris*, upon a day that was past before the Letter came to his hands. But he no sooner receiv'd the Summons, than he betook himself to the Journey, and to transport himself into *Normandy*; where, after he was landed, he made what hast he could to *Caen*, supposing he should there find Secretary *Nicholas*, who had given him notice, "that he had receiv'd the same Command. When he came to *Caen*, he found the Secretary's Lady there, but himself was gone to *Roan*, to the Lord *Cottington*, and intended to stay there till the other should arrive, and to consult together there upon their farther Journey. The old Earl of *Bristol*, who had liv'd likewise at *Caen*, was gone with the Secretary to *Roan*, having likewise receiv'd the same Summons with the others to attend the Prince at the *Lowre*. The Chancellor hasten'd to *Roan*, where he found the Lord *Cottington*, who had still the Title and Precedency of Lord High Treasurer of *England*, the Earl of *Bristol*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who were all his very good Friends, and very glad of his Arrival. They had receiv'd Advertisement, the day before, "that the Prince, with all his small Train, was pass'd "by towards *Calais*; and direction was sent "that the Chancellor, whom they supposed to be on the way, and the rest, "should stay at *Roan*, till they should receive new Orders "from *Calais*, where his Royal Highness would take new "measures what he was to do. So they stay'd together at *Roan*, where there were at the same time very many *English* of Quality in their own condition, who were driven out of *England*, as well as they, for their fidelity to the King, and had brought somewhat with them for their support abroad, till they might upon some good change return to their own Country. In the mean time they liv'd very decently together

The Prince
went into
Holland
from Calais.

in that City; wherethey were well esteem'd. The way between *Rouen* and *Calais* was so dangerous without a very strong Convoy, that no day passed without Robberies and Murthers, so that they were glad of their Order not to stir from thence, till they should receive a very particular direction from the Prince; and within few days they receiv'd advice, "that the Prince had, as soon as he came to *Calais*, put himself on board a Ship that he found there bound for *Holland*, whence they were to hear from him, how they should dispose of themselves. Whereupon they all resolv'd to remove from *Rouen* to *Diep*, from whence they might Embark themselves for *Holland* if they saw cause; the ways by Land, in regard that both the *French* and the *Spanish* Armies were in the Field, being very dangerous.

The Rebels
of part of
the Fleet to
the King
from *Rains-*
borough.

THE Prince's remove from *Paris* on such a suddain, proceeded from an Accident in *England* that was very extraordinary, and looked like a call from Heaven. The Parliament about this time had prepared, according to custom, a good Fleet of ten or a dozen Ships for the Summer Guard, and appointed *Rainsborough* to be Admiral thereof; who had been bred at Sea, and was the Son of an eminent Commander at Sea lately dead; but he himself, from the time of the new Model, had been an Officer of Foot in the Army, and was a Colonel of special Note and Account, and of *Cromwell's* chief Confidants. This offended the Earl of *Warwick* much, and disposed him to that inclination to concur with his Brother lately mention'd. Captain *Batten* likewise was as much unsatisfied, who had acted a great part in the first alienating the Fleet, and the Affections of the Sea-men from the King, and had ever been their Vice-Admiral afterwards, and one of the Persons upon whom they principally rely'd at Sea. *Rainsborough*, as long as he remain'd in the Navy, had been under his Command, and both the Earl and *Batten* well knew that this Man was now made Admiral of this Fleet, because they, being Presbyterians, should have no credit or influence upon it; which made them solicitous enough that the Sea-men should not be well pleased with the Alteration; and They looked upon *Rainsborough* as a Man that had forsaken them, and preferr'd the Land before the Sea Service. The Sea-men are in a manner a Nation by themselves, a humourous, brave, and sturdy People; fierce, and resolute in whatsoever they are inclined to, somewhat unsteady and inconstant in pursuing it, and jealous of those to morrow by whom they are govern'd to day. These Men, observing the general discontent of the People, and that, however the Parliament was obeyed by the power of the Army, both Army and Parliament were grown very odious to the Nation, and bearing so much

much discourse of an Army from *Scotland* ready to enter into the Kingdom, concluded that the King would be Restored; and then remembring that the revolt of the Fleet was the preamble to the loss of his Majesty's Authority every where else, and a great cause of all his Misfortunes, thought it would be a glorious thing to them, if they could lead the way to his Majesty's Restoration by their declaring for him. This was an Agitation among the Common Sea-men, without communicating it to any Officer of the Quality of Master of a Ship. This inclination was much improv'd in them by a general disposition in *Kent* to an Insurrection for the King, and by some Gentlemen's coming on board the Ships, according to the custom of that Country; who fomented the good disposition in the Sea-men by all the ways they could.

At this very time there appear'd generally throughout *Kent* the same indigested Affection to the King, and inclination to serve him, as was among the Sea-men, and was Conducted with much less order and caution, neither the one nor the other having been design'd by those who took care of the King's Affairs, and who design'd those Insurrections which happen'd in other parts of the Kingdom. They knew nothing, that is, contributed nothing to this good disposition in the Sea-men, though they were not without some hope that, upon all other Revolutions, somewhat might likewise fall out at Sea to the advantage of the King's Affairs. They had some expectation indeed from *Kent*, where they knew the People were generally well Affected, and depended upon two or three Gentlemen of that Country, who had been Officers in the King's Army, and resolv'd to bring in some Troops of Horse, when occasion should be ripe; but it was resolv'd and intended that the *Scottish* Army should be enter'd the Kingdom, by which the Parliament Army would be upon their march towards them, before they would have any appearance of force in the parts near *London*; and then they believ'd that both Country and City would rise together. And so those Gentlemen of *Kent*, who were privy to any design, lay privately in *London* to avoid all Cabals in their Country; so that what now fell out there, was by meer chance and accident, that could never be foreseen, or prevented.

THERE happen'd to be at some Jovial meeting in *Kent* about that time, one Mr *L'Estrange* a younger Brother of a good-Family in *Norfolk*, who had been always of the King's Party, and for attempting somewhat in his own Country for his Majesty's Service, had been taken Prisoner by the Parliament, and by a Court of War condemn'd to dye, but being kept in Prison till the end of the War, was then set at Li-

berly, as one in whom there was no more danger. But he retain'd his old Affections, and more remember'd the cruel usage he had receiv'd, than that they had not proceeded as cruelly with him as they might have done. He had a great Friendship with a young Gentleman, Mr *Hales*, who liv'd in *Kent*, and was Married to a Lady of a Noble Birth and Fortune, he being Heir to one of the greatest Fortunes of that Country, but was to expect the Inheritance from the favour of an Old Severe Grand-father, who for the present kept the young Couple from running into any Excess; the Mother of the Lady being of as four and strict a Nature as the Grand-father, and both of them so much of the Parliament Party, that they were not willing any part of their Estates should be hazarded for the King. At the House of this Mr *Hales*, Mr *L'Estrange* was, when by the Communication which that part of *Kent* always hath with the Ships which lye in the *Douars*, the report first did arise that the Fleet would presently declare for the King, and those Sea-men who came on Shore talked as if the City of *London* would joyn with them. This drew many Gentlemen of the Country who wished well, to visit the Ships, and they return'd more confirm'd of the truth of what they had heard. Good-fellowship was a Vice spread every where, and this young great Heir, who had been always bred among his Neighbours, affected that which they were best pleas'd with, and so his House was a Rendezvous for those who delighted in that Exercise, and who every day brought him the news of the good inclinations in the Fleet for the King; and all Men's Mouths were full of the general hatred the whole Kingdom had against the Parliament as well as the Army. Mr *L'Estrange* was a Man of a good Wit, and a Fancy very luxuriant, and of an enterprising Nature. He observ'd, by the good Company that came to the House, that the Affections of all that Large and Populous Country were for the King. He begun to tell Mr *Hales*, "that though his Grand-father did in his heart wish the King well, yet his carriage had been such in his conjunction with the Parliament, that he had more need of the King's favour than of his Grand-father's to be Heir to that great Estate; and that certainly nothing could be more acceptable to his Grand-father, or more glorious to Him, than to be the Instrument of both; and therefore advis'd him "to put himself into the Head of his own Country, which would be willing "to be led by him; that when the *Scots* were enter'd in "to the Northern Parts, and all the Kingdom should be in Armes, he might, with the Body of his Country-men, "march towards *London*; which would induce both the "City and the Parliament to joyn with him, whereby he

"should

“should have great share in the Honour of Restoring the
“King.

THE Company that frequented the House thought the discourse very reasonable, and saw that the issue must be very Honourable: The young Lady of the House was full of Zeal for the King, and was willing her Husband should be the Instrument of his delivery: The young Gentleman himself had not been enough conversant in the Affairs of the World to apprehend the danger, or hazard of the Attempt, and so referr'd himself and the whole Business to be govern'd, and conducted by Mr *L'Estrange*, whom they all believ'd by his discourse to be an able Soldier. He writ some Letters to particular Gentlemen, who he was inform'd would receive them willingly, and sign'd Warrants to the Constables of Hundreds with his own Name, which had been never heard of in the Country, requiring, “in his Majesty's Name, all
“Persons to appear, at a time and place appointed, to advise
“together, and to lay hold on such opportunities, as should
“be offer'd for relieving the King and delivering him out of
“Prison. There was an incredible appearance of the Country at the place appointed, where Mr *L'Estrange* appear'd with Mr *Hales*, and those Persons which had been used to their Company. Mr *L'Estrange* spoke to them in a style very much his own; and being not very clear to be understood, the more prevailed over them. He spake like a Man in Authority, inveighed against “the Tyranny of the Army, which
“had subdued the Parliament, against their barbarous Imprisonment of the King, and against a Conspiracy they had to
“Murder him. He added “that the Affections of that Noble Country were well known to his Majesty, and that he
“had therefore appointed the Fleet that was in the *Downs* to
“joyn with them; and that he doubted not but they would
“together be too strong for his Enemies, who were like to
“have enough to do to defend themselves in many other
“places; and that his Majesty was willing they should have
“a Gentleman of their own Country, well known to them,
“to be their General; and named Mr *Hales*; who was present. There was not one Man who so much as asked for any Letter or Commission, or other Authority from the King; but all of them, very frankly and unanimously, declared “they
“would be ready to joyn, and march as their General *Hales*
“should direct; and so another day and place was appointed for another appearance, and Listing and Forming their Regiments; and in the mean time Mr *L'Estrange* set out such Declarations, and Engagements, as he thought most like to prevail with the People, and required “that they should be read
“in all Churches; which was done accordingly. The next

appearance was greater than the former ; and with the same forwardness, many coming Armed both Horse and Foot, and shewing a marvellous alacrity to the Engagement. Their General then gave out his Commissions for several Regiments, and a new day was appointed for their Rendezvous, when all should come Arm'd, and keep together in a Body, until it should be fit to march to *London*.

It was known that the Fleet was gone out of the *Dowry*, but it was as well known that it had absolutely renounced the Service of the Parliament, and rejected all their Officers. It was easy to persuade the People, that they were gone upon some important Enterprize, and would speedily return ; and it was insinuated, "that it was gone to the Isle of *Wight* to release the King, who would return with it into *Kent* ; which made them hasten their preparations.

At the time when the King made the Earl of *Northumberland* Admiral, he declared, and it was inserted in his Commission, "that he should enjoy that Office during the Minority of the Duke of *Tork* ; and the Duke having made his escape at this time, when there was this Commotion amongst the Sea-men, it was no sooner known that his Highness was in *Holland*, but the Sea-men talked aloud "that they would go to their Admiral ; and the Gentlemen of *Kent* stirring them up and inflaming them to that Resolution, and the Seamen again pressing the Gentlemen to hasten their Rising in Arms, that they might assist and second each other, they both declared themselves sooner than they ought to have done, and before they were prepared for an Enterprize of that importance.

THE Parliament was well inform'd of the distemper amongst the Sea-men, and had therefore forbore putting the half of the Provisions aboard the Ships, which, for the greatest part, lay ready in the *Dowry*, wanting only half the Victual they were to have for the Summer Service. But those Officers which were on board, finding they had no Authority, and that the Sea-men mocked and laughed at them, sent every day to inform the Parliament, what mutinous humour the whole Fleet was in. Whereupon they sent *Rainsborough* and some other Officers thither ; presuming that the presence of the Admiral would quickly quiet all. He, being a Man of a rough imperious Nature, as soon as he came on board his Ship, begun to make a strict Enquiry into the former Disorders and Mutinous behaviour, upon which all the Men of his Ship retired into their old Fortrefs of One and All, and presently laid hold on Him, and put Him, and such other Officers of the Ship as they liked not, into the Boat, and sent them on Shore. Which was no sooner known to the rest of the

Rainsborough and some other Officers put on Shore by the Seamen.

the Ships, but they followed their example, and used their Officers in the same manner. After they had for some days been Feasted and Carested by the People of *Kent*, some of the Gentlemen putting themselves on board to joyn with them, and in order to assist them towards providing such necessaries as were wanting, they went out of the *Downs*, and stood for *Holland*, that they might find their Admiral; and let fall their Anchors before the *Brill*. What was done by the Gentlemen of *Kent* on Shore, and the success thereof, will be related hereafter.

*The revolted
Ships went
over to Hol-
land.*

THIS so very seasonable revolt of the Fleet, in a conjuncture when so many Advantages were expected, was looked upon as a sure Omen of the deliverance of the King. And the report that the Ships were before *Calais*, as if they had expected some Body there, which was true, for some time, was the reason that it was thought fit that the Prince (who had hitherto thought of nothing but being sent for by the *Scots*, and how to find himself with them) should make all possible haste to *Calais*. This was the Cause of that his suddain motion, which was yet retarded for want of Money, and all other things necessary for his Journey. The Cardinal shewed no manner of favouring all these Appearances of Advantage to the King; he gave less countenance to *Scotland*, than he had ever done when it was in Rebellion against the King; and, notwithstanding all his promises with reference to *Ireland*, the Marquis of *Ormond* remain'd still at *Paris*, without obtaining Armes or Money in any proportion (both which had been promised so liberally) and was, after all importunities, compelled to transport himself into *Ireland* (where he was so im-

*The Marquis
of Ormond
goes out of
France into
Ireland.*

THE Prince's remove was by every Body thought so necessary, that the Lord *Jermyn*, as was pretended, found means to borrow so much Money as was necessary for the Journey; which the King paid long after with full Interest. Dr *Goffe*, a Man well known in that time, as the chief Agent and Confident of my Lord *Jermyn*, was presently sent into *Holland*, to dispose the Sea-men to be willing to receive the Lord *Jermyn* to Command the Fleet. So solicitous that Noble Man was to be in the head of any Action that was like to prosper, how unfit soever he was for it; having neither industry, nor knowledge of any thing of the Sea, and being less belov'd by the Sea-men than any man that could be named. The Prince made what haste he could to *Calais*, attended by Prince *Rupert*, the

The Prince
is receiv'd
at the Fleet.

the Lord *Hopton*, and the Lord *Colepepper*, and some other Gentlemen, besides his own Domesticks; and finding one of the *English* Frigats before *Calais*, and understanding that the Duke of *York* was gone from the *Hague* to *Helvoet Sluce*, and had put himself on board the Fleet there, his Highness presently embarked, and made the more hast left his Brother should be in Action before him, and was receiv'd at the Fleet with all those acclamations and noises of joy, which that People are accusom'd to; they having expressed as much some days before, at the arrival of the Duke of *York*.

Factions in
the Prince's
Fleet.

As soon as it was known in *Holland* that the Prince of *Wales* was arriv'd, the Prince of *Orange*, with his Wife the Princess Royal, came presently thither to entertain his Highness the best that place would permit, but especially to rejoyce together, having not seen each other from the time they were Children. The Prince found the Fleet in Faction and Disorder, and great pains had been taken to corrupt them. Sr *John Berkley*'s coming to the *Hague* to Assume the Government of the Duke of *York*, had not been acceptable to his Royal Highness; who was perswaded by Colonel *Bamfield*, that he had been unfaithful, as well as unfortunate, in his attendance upon the King to the Isle of *Wight*. The Colonel himself was so incensed with it, that he used all the skill and insinuation he had, to lessen his Highness's reverence to the Queen, and to dispute her Commands. Then taking the opportunity of the Fleet's being come to *Helvoet Sluce*, he went thither, and having, as is said before, a wonderful Address to the disposing Men to Mutiny, and to work upon Common Men, which the Fleet consisted of, there being no Officers, for the most part, above the Quality of a Boat-Swaine or Master's-Mate, he perswaded them "to declare for the Duke of *York*, without any respect to the King or Prince; and "when his Highness should be on board, that they should not "meddle in the Quarrel between the King and the Parliament, but entirely joyn with the Presbyterian Party, and "the City of *London*; which by this means would bring the "Parliament to reason: And he prepared his Friends the Seamen when the Duke should come to them, that they would except against Sr *John Berkley*, and cause him to be dismissed; and then he believ'd he should be able to govern both his Highness and the Fleet.

At the same time Dr *Goffe*, who was a dextrous Man too, and could comply with all Men in all the Acts of good-fellowship, had gotten acquaintance with others of the Seamen, and made them jealous of *Bamfield*'s activity; and endeavour'd to perswade them "that they should all Petition the Prince (who, he knew, would be shortly with them) "that the Lord

"*Jermyn*

“*Jermyn* might be made their Admiral; who would be able to supply them with Money, and whatsoever else they wanted: That there was no hope of Money but from *France*, and that the Lord *Jermyn* had all the Power and Credit there, and might have what Money he desired; and by these Agitations, the infant Loyalty of the Sea-men begun to be distracted.

At the same time the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, who had always adhered to the Presbyterians, and was of great esteem amongst them, though he was not tainted with their principles, had left the Parliament, and secretly Transported himself into *Holland*; and was arrived at *Rotterdam*, when *Bamsfield* return'd from the Fleet, and went to wait upon the Duke of *Tork* at the *Hague*. *Bamsfield* deliver'd such a Message from the Fleet as he thought would hasten the Duke's Journey thither; and told him, “the Sea-men made great enquiry after the Lord *Willoughby*, and much longed to have him with them; insinuating to the Duke, “that he had much contributed to that good disposition in the Sea men, and was privy to their revolt, and had promised speedily to come to them, and that it would be the most acceptable thing his Highness could do to carry him with him to the Fleet, and make him his Vice-Admiral. The Duke made all imaginable hast to *Helvoet Sluce*, and immediately went on board the Admiral; where he was receiv'd with the usual marks of joy and acclamation. He declared the Lord *Willoughby* his Vice-Admiral, and appointed some other Officers in the several Ships, and seem'd very desirous to be out at Sea. In the mean time *Bamsfield* continued his Activity; and the Doctor, finding he had little hope to raise his Patron to the height he propos'd, did all he could to hinder the Operation of *Bamsfield*, and took all the ways he could that the Prince might be advertis'd of it, and thereupon hasten his own Journey; which did likewise contribute to the hast his Highness made. He arriv'd at *Helvoet Sluce* very seasonably to prevent many inconveniences, which would have inevitably fallen out; and the Sea-men, upon his Highness's appearance, return'd again into their old chearful humour; which the Prince knew would be best preserv'd by Action; and therefore exceedingly desired to be at Sea, where he was sure he must be Superior to any Force the Parliament could in a short time put out. But the Fleet already wanted many Provisions, of which Beer was the chief; which, by the countenance and assistance of the Prince of *Orange*, was in a short time procur'd in a reasonable proportion; and then the Prince set sail first for *Tarmouth* Road, then for the *Downs*; having sent his Brother, the Duke of *Tork*, with all his Family to the *Hague*, to remain there.

The Prince comes into the Downs with the Fleet.

THOUGH

THOUGH the Duke was exceedingly troubled to leave the Fleet, which he had been perswaded to look upon as his Province, yet he could not but acknowledge, that right reason would not permit they should both be ventur'd at one time on board the Fleet; and, the Prince determining to engage his own Person, he submitted to the determination; and was well content to remain with his Sister. The Prince did not think fit to remove the Lord *Willoughby* (who, he knew, was much relied upon by the Presbyterian Party) from the Charge the Duke had given him; though he was not much known to the Sea-men. But Captain *Batten* coming at the same time when his Highness did to the Fleet, and bringing the *Constant Warwick*, one of the best Frigats the Parliament had built, with *Jordan*, and two or three Sea-men of good Command, his Highness knighted him, and made him Rere-Admiral of the Fleet; believing, that he could not do a more popular and acceptable thing to the Sea-men, than by putting the same Man, who had Commanded them so many years, over them again at this time; whose experience and government would supply the defects and want of skill of the Vice-Admiral, who was very willing to be advised by him. But the Prince shortly after found he was mistaken in that expedient, and that the Sea-men (who desired to serve the King upon the clear principles of Obedience, and Loyalty) did not in any degree affect *Batten*, because he had failed in both, and was now of a Party towards which they had no veneration. The truth is, the Prince came prepared and disposed from the Queen, to depend wholly upon the Presbyterian Party, which, besides the power of the *Scottish* Army, which was every day expected to Invade *England*, was thought to be possessed of all the strength of the City of *London*; and the Lord *Colepepper*, and Mr *Long*, the Prince's Secretary, were trusted by the Queen to keep the Prince steady and fast to that dependence; and his Highness was enjoyn'd to be entirely advised by them; though all the other Lords about him were of another mind, and the Prince himself not inclined that way. Dr *Steward*, the Dean of the King's Chapel, whom his Majesty had recommended to his Son to instruct him in all matters relating to the Church, and Dr *Earles*, and the rest of his Chaplains, waited diligently upon him to prevent those Infusions. But, by those two, the benefit of this Fleet was principally consider'd, as a happy means to put the Prince on Shore, that he might be in the Head of the *Scottish* Army; and no doubt if that Army had been then enter'd into *England*, as it was very shortly after, the Prince would have been directed, with the Fleet, "to have followed all the advice which should have been sent from the *Scots*."

IN

IN the mean time it was thought most Counsellable, after the Prince had failed some days about the Coast, that the Kingdom might generally know that his Highness was there, that they should all go into the River of *Thames*, and lye ^{Thence into} still there ; by which they expected two great Advantages ; ^{the River of} first, that the City would be thereby engaged to declare it self, ^{Thames.} when they saw all their Trade obstructed ; and that their Ships homewards bound, of which, at that Season of the year, they expected many, must fall into the Prince's hands ; and then, that the presence of the Prince in the River would hinder the Parliament from getting Seamen ; and from setting out that Fleet which they were preparing to reduce the other, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick* ; whom they thought fit, in this exigent, again to imploy ; and who, by accepting the Charge, thought he should be in a better posture to chooſe his Party, in any other alteration that should happen at Land.

WHEN the Parliament first heard of the Commotion in *Kent*, and saw the Warrants which were sent out and sign'd by *L'Estrange*, whom no body knew (and the Gentlemen of *Kent* who sat in the Parliament, assured them, "that there was no such Gentleman in that County ; and *Sr Edward Hales*, who likewise was present there, told them, "he was very confident that his Grandson could not be Embarked in "such an Affair) they neglected it, and thought it a design to amuse them. But when they heard that the meetings were continued, and saw the Declarations which were published, and were well assured that young *Hales* appear'd with them as their General, they thought the matter worth their care ; and therefore appointed their General, "to send two "or three Troops of Horse into *Kent* to suppress that seditious Insurrection ; *Sr Edward Hales* now excusing himself with revilings, threats, and detestation of his Grandson ; who, he protested, should never be his Heir.

THE Earl of *Holland*, who had a Commission to be General, and the rest who were engaged, were not yet ready, the *Scots* being not yet enter'd ; nor did they understand any thing of the business of *Kent* ; however when they were assured that they were drawn into a Body, and were so strong that the Officers who Commanded the Troops which had been sent to suppress them, had sent to the Parliament word, "that "they durst not advance, for that the Enemy was much stronger than they, and increased daily ; and that they had sent a "Letter to the City of *London* inviting them to joyn with "them ; the Earl of *Holland* I say, and the others with him, thought it fit to send them all the countenance, and encouragement they could ; and thereupon dispatched those Officers who had been design'd for the Troops of that County, when

the Season should be ripe, and who had hitherto lurked privately in *London* to avoid suspicion. They were desired to call their Friends together, as soon as was possible, to join with their Neighbours; and were told "that they should very shortly receive a General from the King: for they did not think Mr *Hales* equal to the work, who found his Power and Credit to grow less, the greater the appearance grew to be; and they began to enquire for the King's Commission. The Earl of *Holland* had form'd his Party of many Officers who had serv'd both the King and the Parliament; all which were in the City; and he had not yet a mind to call them together, but to expect the appearance of their Northern Friends, and therefore consulting with the rest, and finding the Earl of *Norwich*, who had been some Months in *England* under a Pass from the Parliament (upon pretence of making his composition, from which he had never been excluded) willing to engage himself in the Conduct of those in *Kent*, where he was well known and belov'd, his Affection and Zeal for the King's Service being not to be doubted, they resolv'd that he should go thither; and there being many blank Commissions ready to be disposed as the Service should require, they filled one with His name, by which the Command of all *Kent* was committed to him, "with power to lead them any whither as the good of the King's Service should make requisite. And with this Commission he made hast into *Kent*, and found at *Maidstone* a better Body of Horse and Foot Arm'd than could have been expected; enough in number to have met any Army that was like to be brought against them. They all receiv'd him with wonderful Acclamations, and vowed obedience to him. Mr *Hales*, upon the news of another General to be sent thither, and upon the storms of threats and rage which fell upon him from his Grand-father, on the one side, and on his Wife by her Mother on the other side, and upon the Conscience that he was not equal to the Charge, though his Affection was not in the least declined, found means to Transport himself, and Wife, together with his Friend Mr *L'Estrange*, who had lost his Credit with the People, into *Holland*; resolving, as soon as he had put his Wife out of the reach of her Mother, to return himself, and to venture his Person in the Service which he could not Conduct; which he did quickly after very heartily endeavour to do.

THE importunities from *Scotland* with the Presbyterians their Correspondents, the fame of Sr *Marmaduke Langdale's* being well receiv'd at *Edenborough*, and that many *English* Officers and Soldiers daily flocked thither, but especially the promises from *Paris* of Supplies of Armes, Ammunition, and Money, as soon as they could expect it, set all the other wheels

wheels going in *England* which had been preparing all the Winter. There were in South *Wales* Colonel *Laugborn*, Colonel *Powell*, and Colonel *Poyer*, who Commanded those parts under the Parliament, which they had serv'd from the beginning: the first of them a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and a fair Fortune in Land in those Counties, who had been bred a Page under the Earl of *Essex*, when he had a Command in the Low Countries, and continued his dependence upon him afterwards, and was much in his favour, and by that relation was first engaged in the Rebellion, as many other Gentlemen had been, without wishing ill to the King: the second was a Gentleman too, but a Soldier of Fortune: the third, had from a low Trade raised himself in the War to the Reputation of a very diligent and stout Officer, and was at this time trusted by the Parliament with the Government of the Town and Castle of *Pembroke*. These three communicated their discontents to each other, and all thought themselves ill requited by the Parliament for the Service they had done, and that other Men, especially Colonel *Mitton*, were prefer'd before them; and resolv'd to take the opportunity of the *Scots* coming in, to declare for the King upon the Presbyterian Account. But *Laugborn*, who was not infected with any of those freaks, and doubted not to reduce the other two, when it should be time, to sober Resolutions, would not engage till he first sent a confident to *Paris* to inform the Prince of what he had determin'd, and of what their wants consisted, which if not reliev'd, they should not be able to pursue their purpose, desiring to receive Orders for the time of their declaring, and Assurance that they should in time receive those Supplies they stood in need of. And the Lord *Jermyns* sent him a promise under his hand, "that he should not fail of receiving all the things he had desired, before he could be pressed by the Enemy; and therefore conjur'd him, and his Friends, forthwith to declare for the King; which he assured them would be of singular benefit, and advantage to his Majesty's Service; since, upon the first notice of their having declared, the *Scotish* Army would be ready to march into *England*. Hereupon they presently declared, before they were provided to keep the Field for want of Ammunition and Money, and when *Pembroke* was not supplied with Provisions for above two Months; and were never thought of after.

THE Lord *Byron* had been sent from *Paris*, upon the opportunities from *Scotland*, to get as many to declare in *England* in several places, as might distract the Army, and keep it from an entire Engagement against them; to dispose his old Friends about *Chester* and North *Wales* to appear as soon as might.

might be : and he presently, with the help of Colonel *Robinson*, possessed himself of the Island of *Anglesey*, and disposed all North *Wales* to be ready to declare as soon as the *Scots* should enter the Kingdom. But that which was of most importance, and seem'd already to have brought the War even into the heart of *England*, was that some Gentlemen, who had formerly serv'd the King in the Garrison of *Newark*, and in the Northern Army, under Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, had (by a design consulted with him before his going into *Scotland*, and upon Orders receiv'd from him since, when he believ'd the *Scots* would be in a short time ready to begin their March) surpris'd the strong Castle of *Pontfret* in *York-shire* (which had a Garrison in it for the Parliament) and grew presently so numerous, by the resort of Officers and Soldiers from the adjacent Counties, that they grew formidable to all those parts, and made the Communication between *London* and *York* insecure, except it was with strong Troops. Upon which Argument of the surpris'e of *Pontfret*, We shall enlarge hereafter, before We speak of the Tragick conclusion of this Enterpris'e. All Affairs were in this motion in *England*, before there was any appearance of an Army in *Scotland*, which they had promised should be ready to march by the beginning of *May*.

INDEED as to the raising an Army in *Scotland*, the difficulties were well nigh over, nor did they ever look upon that as a thing that would trouble them, but who should Command, and be General of this Army was the matter upon which the Success of all they propos'd would depend; and if they could not procure Duke *Hamilton* to be made choice of for that Service, they would promise themselves no good issue of the Undertaking. It was a hard thing to remove the old General *Lesley*, who had been hitherto in the Head of their Army in all their prosperous Successes; but he was in the confidence of *Argyle*, which was objection enough against him, if there were no other; and the Man was grown old, and appear'd, in the Actions of the last Expedition into *England*, very unequal to the Command. And therefore some expedient was to be found to be rid of him; and they found it no hard matter to prevail with him to decline the Command, upon pretence of his Age and Infirmities, when in truth he had no mind to venture his Honour against the *English*, except assisted by *English*, which had been his good Fortune in all the Actions of Moment he had perform'd in this War; and when he had been destitute of that help, he had always receiv'd some Affront. When by this means there was a new General to be named, Duke *Hamilton* was propos'd, as a fit Man to be employ'd to redeem the Honour of the

the Nation. He had formerly discharged the Office of General under the King of *Sweden*, where *Lesley*, that had now declined the imployment, was Major General under him; and therefore could not be thought to be without ample experience of War.

WHILST this was depending, *Argyle* took notice of *Sr Marmaduke Langdale's*, and *Sr Philip Musgrave's* being in the Town, and of some discourses which they had used, or some other *English* Officers in their Company, and desired "that, "if they were to have any Command in the Army, they might "presently take the Covenant; and that there might be a general Declaration, that there should be neither Officer nor "Soldier receiv'd into their Army, before he had first taken "the Covenant; and that, after they were enter'd into the "Kingdom of *England*, they should make no conjunction with "any Forces, or Persons, who had not done, or should refuse to do the same. This proposal found no opposition; they who were most forward to raise the Army for the delivery of the King, being as violent as any to advance that Declaration. And though Duke *Hamilton* and his Brother of *Laurick* did as well disapprove it in their own judgement, as they did foresee, out of the long experience they had of *England*, what prejudice it would bring upon them there, yet they had not the Courage in any degree to speak against it; and the Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Lantherdale* were as passionate for the Advancement of it, as *Argyle* himself; and seem'd to think that those two Gentlemen either had already taken, or would be willing to take it.

It can hardly be believ'd, that, after so long knowledge of *England*, and their observation of whom the King's Party did consist, after their so often conferences with the King without prevailing upon him, in any degree, either to preserve himself at *New-Castle* from being deliver'd up to the Parliament, or in their last agitation with him, when he yielded to so many unreasonable particulars to gratify them, to consent to or promise, "that any Man should be compell'd to "take the Covenant; that they should still adhere to that fatal Combination against the Church, which they could never hope to bring to pass, except they intended only to change the hand, and to keep the King under as strict a restraint, when they should get him into Their hands, as he was under the domination of the Parliament and Army: yet they were so infatuated with this resolution, that they discovered their apprehension of the King's Party, and design'd no less to oppress Them than the Independents, and Anabaptists; and upon the news of the revolt of the Fleet from the Parliament to the King, the Insurrection in *Kent*, and other places, and the general inclinations throughout the Kingdom for the

King, they slacken'd their preparations, that they might defer their March, to the end that all that strength might be oppressed and reduced, that so they might be absolute Masters after they had prevailed over the Army. And at last, when they could defer their March no longer, upon the importunate pressure of their Friends in *London*, they sent the Earl of *Lauderdale* with those insolent instructions, which will be mention'd anon, and positively required the Prince immediately to repair to them; declaring, "that if his Person should not be forthwith in their Army, they would return again into *Scotland* without making any attempt; and the knowing this resolution, was the reason that the Queen was so positive in her Instructions, notwithstanding the appearance of any other Advantage to the King in *England*."

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Philip Musgrave* no sooner heard of this Declaration, than they went to those Lords, and expostulated very sharply with them, for "having broken their Faiths, and betrayed them into their Country; where they were looked upon as Enemies. They were Answer'd, "that they must give over their design to redeem the King, or yield to this determination, which their Parliament was so firm and united in; and would never depart from. And therefore they entreated them with all imaginable importunity, that they would take the Covenant; some of them desiring to confer with them upon it, and undertaking to satisfy them, that the Covenant did not include those things in it, which they thought it did. But when they saw those Gentlemen would not be prevailed with, but that on the contrary they resolv'd presently to leave the Country; and told them, "they would undeceive those honest People in *England*, who were too much inclined to trust them; and that they should find that they had a harder work in hand than they imagined; the *Scottish* Lords knew well enough of what importance their presence was to be to them, for their very entrance into *England*; and thereupon desired them, "that they would have a little patience, and again absent themselves from *Edenborough*, till the heat of this dispute was over, and till the Army should be ready to march; and Duke *Hamilton*, who had a marvellous insinuation to get himself believ'd, assured them in confidence, "that as soon as he should find himself in the head of his Army, and upon their march, there should be no more talk of Covenants, but that all the King's Friends should be welcome, and without distinction. So they left *Edenborough* again, and went to their old Quarters; where they had not stay'd long, before the Duke sent for them to come to him in private; and, after a very chearful reception, he told them, "he was now ready; and that their Friends in

"*England*"

“*England* called so importunately for them, that he was resolv’d to march in very few days ; which he thought necessary to communicate to them, not only for the Friendship he had for them ; which would always keep him without reserve towards them ; but because he must depend upon them two to surprise the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, against the time he should be able to march thither ; for he intended to march between those two Places.

THE work was not hard to be perform’d by them, they having, from their first entrance into *Scotland*, adjusted with their Friends who inhabited near those places, to be ready for that enterprise when they should be called upon ; which they then believ’d would have been much sooner ; so that they were willing to undertake it, and demanded Commissions from the Duke for the doing thereof ; which he excused himself for not giving, under pretence of “the secrecy that was necessary ; in respect whereof he would not trust his own Secretary ; and likewise, as a thing unnecessary for the work ; since it was their own reputation and interest, and their being known to have been always trusted by the King, by which they could bring it to pass, and not His Commission ; for which those Towns would have no reverence. Besides, he told them, “that the Marquis of *Argyle* had still protested against their beginning the War by any Act of Hostility against the *English*, in forcing any of the Towns ; which was not necessary in order to the King’s deliverance ; but that an Army might march to the place where the King was, to the end that those Messengers who were sent by the State to speak with the King, might have liberty to speak with his Majesty ; which was a Right of the Kingdom, and the demanding it could be no breach of the Pacification between the two Kingdoms.

THIS Argument, they knew, was not reasonable enough to sway the Duke. But they foresaw two other reasons, which did prevail with him not to give those Commissions they desired, which otherwise might have been given with the same secrecy that the business was to be acted with ; the one, the Order against giving any Commission to any Man before he had taken the Covenant : And how much Authority soever the Duke might take upon him to dispense with that Order after he should be in *England*, it might not be convenient that he should assume it whilst he remain’d yet at *Edenborough* : the other was, that, when they had done it without his Commission, he might, upon his March, or as soon as he came thither, dispossess them of the Government, and put *Scotts*-men into their places ; the last of which he did not dissemble to them ; but confessed “that, though the Council of *Scotland*,
L 2 would

“ would not attempt the taking of those Towns, yet when
 “ They should be taken, they would expect the Government
 “ thereof should be in Their hands, and depend upon Them,
 “ without which they should not be able to send him those con-
 “ tinual Supplies which he expected from them. And there be-
 “ ing then a recruit of five or six thousand, which *Sr George*
Monroe had near raised in the North, and from *Ireland*, who
 were to begin their March after him, as soon as he should be
 out of *Scotland*, the two Gentlemen had no purpose of remain-
 ing in those Governments, well knowing that their presence
 would be of importance to the Army, at least whilst they stay-
 ed in the Northern Counties; yet they knew well, it was for
 the Service that those Towns should remain in the hands of
 the *English*, without which few of the Gentlemen of those
 Parts would declare themselves, how well affected soever
 they were; which when they had offer'd to the Duke, they
 left it to him, and accepted the employment he pressed them
 to undertake, and parted to put the same in execution in both
 places at one time, all things being concerted between them
 to that purpose.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale had several Officers, and Sol-
 diers, laid privately on the *Scottish* side to wait his Commands,
 and more on the *English*; there being two or three good Fa-
 milies within two or three Miles of *Berwick*, who were well
 affected and ready to appear when they should be required;
 in expectation whereof they had harboured many Men. Some
 of them *Sr Marmaduke* appointed to meet him, on the *Scottish*
 side, at a place about a Mile distant from *Berwick*, the Night
 before he intended the surprise, and the rest to be in the
 Town by the rising of the Sun; some about the Market
 place, and some upon the Bridge, by which he must enter.
 The next Morning, being Market day, when great droves of
 little Horses, laden with sacks of Corn, always resorted to
 the Town, *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, with about a hundred
 Horse, and some few Foot, which walked with the Market
 People, presently after Sun rising, was upon the Bridge, be-
 fore there was any apprehension; and finding his Friends there
 whom he expected, he caused the Bridge presently to be
 drawn up, and guarded by his Foot, and sent others to the
 other parts. Himself with most of his Troops went into the
 Market place, where he found his Country Friends ready to
 do all he would Command. There was so general a conster-
 nation seized upon the whole Town, there being no other
 Garrison but Towns-men, that after they had seld upon the
 Mayor, who was the Governour, all things were in a short
 time so quiet, that they open'd their Ports again, that the
 Market might not be interrupted. *Sr Philip Musgrave*, with

Sr M. Lang-
dale surprises
Berwick,
and Sr. P.
Musgrave
Carlisle
soon after.

as little opposition, possessed himself of *Carlisle*; where he had a greater Interest; and the People were generally better affected to the King, and more disinclined to the *Scots* than those of *Berwick* used to be; and they both hasten'd advertisement to the Duke of what they had done.

It will be much wonder'd at, that after *Cromwell* plainly foresaw they should have a War with *Scotland*, and had constant Intelligence from thence of the Advances they made, he did not take care to put Garrisons into those two Important places, the very strength of which could for some time have withstood all the power which *Scotland* could have brought against them. But the same reason which had been current at *Edenborough* to this very time, had prevail'd at *Westminster*. It was specially provided for by the Act of Pacification between the two Kingdoms, when the Parliaments of both Kingdoms Combined against the King, "that there should be no more Garrisons kept on either side in *Berwick* or *Carlisle*; where they were then disbanded, and some of their Fortifications slighted; which could easily have been repaired; and, without repairing, could have kept out an Enemy for some time. And the Parliament would not now permit any Men to be sent thither, that the *Scots* might not pretend that the War was begun by them; but left *Berwick* to the Government of the Mayor and the Citizens; who could have defended themselves against the *Scots* if they had expected them. But the truth is, *Cromwell* had so perfect a contempt of the whole strength of that Nation, that he never cared what Advantage ground they had upon any Field, or what place they ever possessed.

SIR *Marmaduke Langdale* and *Sr Philip Musgrave* were no sooner possessed of *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*, than all the Gentlemen, Officers, and Soldiers thereabouts, who had formerly serv'd the King, resorted and flocked to them well Armed, appointed, and provided for the War; so that they had not only very sufficient Garrisons to keep those places, but Troops enough of Horse to free the adjacent Counties from those Forces, and Committees, and other Persons, who were either publicly engaged in, or well known privately to wish well to the Parliament. It was upon the 28th of *April* that *Sr Marmaduke Langdale* possessed himself of *Berwick*; and soon after *Sr Philip Musgrave* surpris'd *Carlisle*, about eight of the Clock at Night, many Gentlemen of the Neighbours being in, and about the Town, expecting his Arrival; so that the Citizens were in confusion, and made little resistance. It is very true, they had both given under their hands to Duke *Hamilton*, that they would deliver up the Towns to him when he should require them; he having assured them, "that the King had

L 3

"promised,

"promised, under his hand, that those two Towns should be "deliver'd into the possession of the *Scots*; which it must needs be supposed that they should first take from the Parliament, in whose possession they were both when the King sign'd the Engagement at *Carisbrook* Castle. And the Duke had not only refused to give them any Men, or other Assistance towards the taking them, but, as hath been said, would not grant them his Commission to perform it; pretending "that "he durst not do it, because they were bound not to begin "the War: only He, and the other Lords of his Fraternity, promised "to send five hundred Muskets, and ten Barrels of "Powder to each Garrison; and that their whole Army should "march into *England* within twenty days; and that, if they "were sooner in distress, they should be sure to be reliev'd.

BUT after he heard that both places were possessed by them, he deserr'd not to send a Governour and Garrison to receive *Berwick*; to whom *Sr Marmaduke Langdale* deliver'd it according to his promise; and was required "to march with all "the *English* to the parts adjacent to *Carlisle*, and there to "encrease his Troops to what Number he could, with what "expedition was possible; which he perform'd so effectually, that, in very few days, he had a Rendezvous upon a Heath within five Miles of *Carlisle*, where he Muster'd above three thousand Foot well Arm'd, and seven hundred Horse not so well Arm'd; all which were raised in *Cumberland*, and *Westmoreland*, over and above the Garrison of *Carlisle*; which yet remain'd under *Sr Philip Musgrave*; and, within two days, five hundred Horse, very well appointed, came out of *Yorkshire*, the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and the Neighbour parts; so that *Sr Marmaduke Langdale* resolv'd presently to march into *Lancashire*, to reduce those who were for the Parliament there; which he could easily have done, the Lord *Byron* being ready upon the Borders of *Cheeshire* to have joyn'd with him. But this quick advance and progress towards an Army, was not well looked upon at *Edenborough*; and an Express was dispatched with positive Orders to *Sr Marmaduke Langdale* "not "to Engage or Fight with the Enemy, upon what advantage "soever, until the *Scottish* Army should come up. And where-ever that Express should overtake *Sr Marmaduke*, he was immediately to retire with his Forces near *Carlisle*; which he obey'd as soon as he receiv'd the Order, and when he might have marched against *Lambert*; who was sent before with a less strength than *Sr Marmaduke* Commanded, and which in all probability would have been Defeated.

BUT, as if this had not been discouragement enough, within one or two days after that Express, Letters were sent from the Council in *Scotland*, by which *Sr Marmaduke Langdale* was
very

very severely reprehended, "for receiving Papists into his Army, and not owning the Covenant in the Declarations which he had published; and told, "that he should receive no Assistance from Them, except the Covenant was embraced by all his Army. This struck at the root of all their hopes; and was so contrary to all the Engagements they had receiv'd from the *Scottish* Lords, both by Words and Letters, "that they should never be troubled with any such motions, "after they were once upon *English* ground; and that then "they should proceed upon those Grounds as were like to "bring in most Men to their Assistance; that *Sr Marmaduke* prevail'd with *Sr Philip Musgrave* to make a Journey forthwith to *Edenborough*, to expostulate upon the whole matter, and declare their firm Resolution to the Lords there.

Sir Philip Musgrave, that it might appear that they did not exclude any who had taken the Covenant, and were willing to joyn with them, carried a list with him of the names of many Officers in their Troops who had been compell'd to take the Covenant before they could be admitted to composition, or procure the Sequestrations to be taken from their Estates, and of some others who had taken it for quietness sake in the places where they liv'd; with which the *Scots* were in some degree mitigated, but seem'd to retain still their rigour, that it should be submitted to by the whole Army.

IN the mean time *Lambert*, having gotten a strong Body of Horse and Foot, advanced upon *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*; who, being enjoyn'd not to Fight, was forced to retire to *Carlisle*, and suffer himself to be, upon the matter, blocked up on one side, whilst he sent Letter upon Letter to the Duke "to hasten his March, or to send some Troops to his Assistance, and Liberty to Fight the Enemy.

THE Earl of *Norwich* had found the Assembly at *Maidstone* very numerous, but likewise very disorderly, and without Government, not easy to be reduced under any Command. They had been long enough together to enter into Jealousies of one another, and from thence into Factions, and were of several opinions what they were to do. And though they all pretended an entire submission and obedience to the Earl of *Norwich* as their General, yet no Man forbore to deliver his opinion of Things and Persons, nor to enquire by what means they had first been drawn together; which imply'd that many Men wish'd they had been to begin again. The Earl was a Man fitter to have drawn such a Body together by his frolick and pleasant humour, which reconciled People of all constitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any Enterprize. He had always

liv'd in the Court in such a station of business as rais'd him very few Enemies; and his pleasant and jovial Nature, which was every where acceptable, made him many Friends, at least made many delight in his Company. So that by the great favour he had with the King and Queen, and the little prejudice he stood in with any Body else, he was very like, if the fatal disorder of the time had not blasted his hopes, to have grown Master of a very fair Fortune; which was all that he propos'd to himself. But he had no experience or knowledge of the War, nor knew how to exercise the Office he had taken upon him of General, but was very willing to please every Man, and comply with every Bodies humour; which was quickly discover'd; and so Men withdrew the Reverence they were prepared to have paid him, and grew more obstinate in their own opinions what was to be done; and the indisposition increased, when they heard that *Fairfax* himself was appointed to march towards them. They who best understood the Affair, and how to apply the strength they had to the best advantage, advis'd "that they might retire beyond *Rochester*, and by breaking down the Bridge there, and Fortifying another Pass or two, which was easy "to be done, they might keep the Enemy from entering into "the East of *Kent* (which was the largest and best part of that rich and populous County) "longer than they would be "able to continue the attempt, for fear of being inclos'd by "an Enemy at their back, if the City of *London*, or those of "*Essex*, who were most spoken of, had a mind to declare for "the King; and by this means they might be sure of a correspondence with the Fleet; of the return whereof in a short time they were most confident; and the more, because some Gentlemen of their own Body were on board the Fleet in some Authority, who, they knew, would hasten their return all they could.

MANY were the more perswaded that the Fleet was gone to the Isle of *Wight* for the rescue of the King, because those Gentlemen were gone in it. And without doubt that advice was the most reasonable, and if it had been pursued might have kept the Enemy at a Bay for some time. But other Men less reasonable were of another mind: they did not believe "that *Fairfax* could have leisure to look after them; they "were confident that the Parliament had so many Enemies "to look after, those in *Wales* growing strong, and having "beaten the Party that had been sent against them; and the "Officers in the North, who had seized upon *Pontefract* Castle "in *Yorkshire*, and had drawn in a strong Garrison from the "parts adjacent, had a Body of Horse, that infested all those "parts; and the *Scots* were upon their march for *England*;

"and

"and therefore they concluded that *Fairfax* could not be at leisure to visit them: The retiring would be an Argument of fear, which would dishearten their Friends at *London*, and all those of that part of *Kent*, which must be deserted upon their Retreat, would desert them, as soon as that resolution should be known; and therefore they desired, "that they might all march towards *Black-Heath*; which would raise the Spirits of their Friends, and many would resort every day to them out of *London* and the parts adjacent; all which were eminently well affected.

THE Noise for this was the greater, and the Earl of *Norwich* himself was thereby swayed to be of that opinion; and so they resolv'd to advance, and a short day was appointed for a general Rendezvous upon *Black-Heath*; and Orders were sent out accordingly.

THE disturbance in so many places made the resolution of the General now to be known, which had been hitherto carefully concealed, "that *Fairfax* himself was not willing to march against the *Scots*; which was not now Counsellable for him to do. *Cromwell* was very willing to take that Province to himself, and had always so great a contempt of the *Scots*, that he was willing to march with a much lesser Number than he well knew the *Scotish* Army to consist of; and being inform'd which way the *Scots* resolv'd to enter the Kingdom, and that they were even ready to march, he advanced to meet them, as soon as they should be enter'd, with those Troops which he had made choice of, having first suppressed the Risings in South *Wales* by taking of *Pembroke* Castle, and making Prisoners therein *Laugborn*, *Powel*, and *Poyer*, the heads of that Insurrection, and not troubling himself with *Pontefret* Castle, which he thought would not be of great consequence, if the *Scots* were subdued.

FAIRFAX, with a numerous part of the Army, remain'd in and about *London* to suppress the Insurrection in *Kent*, and watch any other which should fall out in the City or thereabouts; of which they had more apprehension than of all the power of *Scotland*. And so when the Parliament was advertised by their Troops which were first sent, that they were too weak to advance farther, and heard that the Earl of *Norwich* was declared General of the *Kentish* Troops, and was marching in the Head of them towards *Black-Heath*, *Fairfax* drew all his Army together, and his Cannon, and marched over *London* Bridge to meet the Men of *Kent* at *Black-Heath*, and to stop their march to *London*. The Earl was now advanced so far, and *Fairfax* advanced too fast to put the former Counsel in practice, of breaking down the Bridges, and keeping the Passes, and they who had opposed that

The *Kentish* Army marches towards *Black-Heath*.

Cromwell advances against the *Scots*:

Fairfax advances against the *Kentish* Men.

that Counsel, and were so forward to advance, thought they were now too far. The Country-men were weary of being all night in the Field, though it was the warmest Season of the Year, and many withdrew themselves every day; so that they who remain'd had no reason to believe themselves equal to the power that march'd towards them, and yet there were more left than could hope to preserve themselves by flying, and by concealment. And therefore, as *Fairfax* advanced, the *Kentish* Forces drew back; made several stands; but, being hard pressed, they divided, some retiring to *Rocheſter*, others to *Maidſtone*. Thoſe at *Maidſtone* had a ſharp Encounter with the General's whole ſtrength, and Fought very bravely, but were at laſt Deſeated. In the mean time the Earl of *Norwich*, and divers other Officers who were with the Party at *Rocheſter*, quitting that place, march'd back towards *London*, in hope ſtill of the City's joyning with them. But that failing, and apprehending *Fairfax* would be ſoon in their Rear, the Earl and thoſe who remain'd, and deſign'd to run the utmoſt hazard, reſolv'd to paſs themſelves and their Horſes by ſuch Boats as they had ready about *Greenwich*, and down the River, over into *Effex*, where they knew they had many Friends, and where *Fairfax* and his Army could not viſit them in ſome days. So they made a ſhift to transport themſelves to the number of near a thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot; whereof many were Officers and Soldiers who had ſerv'd the King, and young Gentlemen grown up in Loyal Families, who had been too young to appear before.

*The Earl of
Norwich,
and ſome
Forces, trans-
port them-
ſelves into
Effex; and
fix in Col-
cheſter.*

THEY found many Perſons in *Effex* ready to joyn with them; who came ſooner together than they intended, upon the Alarm of *Kent*; and who had purpoſed to have paſſed over into *Kent* to have joyn'd with, and aſſiſted thoſe who had ſo frankly appear'd for the King, if they had not been prevented by their unexpected coming to them. There was the brave Lord *Capel*, *Sr William Compton*, *Sr Charles Lucas*, *Sr George Liſle*, all excellent Officers. There was *Sr Bernard Gaſſaign*, and many other Gentlemen, and Officers of Name, who had drawn together many Soldiers. To theſe joyn'd Colonel *Farr*; who had ſerv'd the Parliament, and was a known Creature and Confident of the Earl of *Warwick's*, and had at that time the Command of *Langward Point*, a Fort of importance upon the Sea; ſo that when they were all come together, with thoſe who came from *Kent*, they made a Body of above three thouſand Horſe and Foot, with Officers enough to have form'd and commanded a very good Army.

THEY well knew *Fairfax* would quickly viſit them, and therefore they choſe to poſt themſelves in *Colcheſter*, a great and

and populous Town, which though unfortified, they cast up such works before the Avenues, that they did not much fear to be forced by an Assault; and resolv'd to expect a Conjunction with other of their Friends; and were in great hopes that the *Scotish* Army, which they heard was upon its march, would be with them before they could be distressed.

THEY had scarce put themselves and the Town, which was not glad of their company, into any order, before *Fairfax* came upon them; who made no stay in *Kent*, after he heard what was become of the Earl of *Norwich* and his Friends; but left two or three Troops of Horse to settle that County, with the assistance of their Committees, who had been driven from thence, and returning now Victorious knew well enough how to deal with those who had revolted from them. When *Fairfax* he came first before *Colchester*, and saw it without any Forti-^{*Fairfax be-*}_{*sieges them.*}fications, he thought presently to have enter'd the Town with his Army; but he found so rude resistance, that by the advice of *Ireton*, who was left by *Cromwell* to watch the General as well as the Army, he resolv'd to encompass it with his Troops, and without hazarding the loss of Men to block them up, till Famine should reduce them; and dispos'd his Army accordingly; which quickly stopp'd up all Passages by which either Men or Provisions should get into the Town; though by many brave Sallies from within, their Quarters were often beaten up, and many Valiant Men were lost on both sides.

THE Fleet, after it had, with all imaginable cheerfulness, submitted to the Command of the Prince, was not so active as it was expected it should be; and was very much the worse for the Factions, and Divisions, which were amongst those who attended upon the Prince; who, according to their several humours, endeavour'd to work upon the Sea-men; a People capable of any impression, but not very retentive of it. Prince *Rupert*, to whom the Prince was very kind, did not, upon many old contests in the late War, love the Lord *Colepepper*, who was not of a temper that cared to court him: and there was one, who had the greatest influence on Prince *Rupert*, *Herbert* the Attorney General, that of all Men living was most dispos'd to make discord and disagreement between Men; all his faculties being resolv'd into a spirit of contradicting, disputing, and wrangling upon any thing that was propos'd. He having no title or pretence to interpose in Councils, and yet there being no secret in the Debates there, found it easy to infuse into Prince *Rupert*, who totally resign'd himself to his Advice, such Arguments as might disturb any Resolution: and there were so many who were angry that they were not admitted into the Council, as the Lords *Piercy*,
Wilmet,

*Factions in
the Prince's
Fleet.*

Wilmot, and *Wentworth*, that it was no hard matter to get any thing disliked that was resolv'd there. They had all that admission and countenance from the Prince, that they had as much confidence to speak to, and before him, as any where else. Prince *Rupert* had a great mind that somewhat should be attempted upon the Coast, which might have caused some Sea Towns, and the parts adjacent, to have declared for the King; which seem'd not a design that would bear a reasonable discourse. But Action was a very grateful word to the Sea-men, and they who oppos'd any thing that tended toward it, were looked upon with great jealousy and prejudice. But the Prince was oblig'd, as hath been said, by his Instructions at *Paris*, not to engage himself in any thing that might divert him from being ready at the minute when the *Scots* should call for his presence; and they expected the first intimation of that from *London*; from whence they had the assurance already, that Duke *Hamilton* was enter'd into the Kingdom with an Army of above thirty thousand Men; which was then generally thought true, though they fell far short of the number.

It enters the
River of
Thames;
takes several
Ships.

WHEN the Prince came with the Fleet into the Sea from *Helvoet Sluce*, he met a Ship of *London* bound for *Rotterdam*, and laden with Cloath by the Company of Merchant Adventurers, who did not think that the Fleet could have been so soon ready for Sea. This Ship was taken, and the Decks being Sealed up, was kept under Guard with the Fleet; which, at their Entrance into the River of *Thames*, took many other Ships of great value outward bound, and intercepted all Vessels homeward bound, and amongst those an East India Ship richly laden, and the more welcome because the Ship it self was a very strong Ship, and would make an excellent Man of War, and the Captain thereof was a Sea-man of Courage, and Experience, and was very well inclined to serve the King: and, without doubt, if all the Ships which were then taken, had been sent into some secure Ports, the value of the Goods would have mounted to so great a Sum, as might have countervail'd a very great Expence at Sea and Land. But as it would have been very difficult to have found such a secure Port, where that Treasure might have been deposited, so it was not suitable to those measures which had been taken, and were still pursued, for his Royal Highness's proceedings. The City of *London* was to be courted by all the Artifices imaginable, and that was so alarm'd by the Fleet's being in the River, and by the Seizure of so many of their Ships, especially the Cloath Ship, that there was a general consternation amongst the People: and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen applied themselves to the Parliament, for leave to send down some Agents to the Fleet

Fleet to procure a release of that Ship; and if that could not be brought to pass, that they might buy it at as good rate as they could get it. Which was the introducing such a Commerce and Correspondence between the Fleet and the City, in such a conjuncture of jealousy, that most Men believ'd the Parliament would never have hearken'd to it; and concluded, from the granting it, that there was another sort of Treasure inclosed in that Ship, than what belonged to the Merchant Adventurers; and that many of those who granted that indulgence to the City, had more Money on board that Vessel than the Clodh was worth, though the value thereof amounted to no less than forty thousand pounds.

UPON this liberty granted by the Parliament, a Committee ^{Commissioners sent to the Prince} was sent from the City with a Petition to the Prince of Wales, ^{the Prince from the City with a Petition.} "that he would restore the Ship which belonged to his Father's good Subjects. With these Men came Letters from some of those who were well known to be very solicitous at that time for the advancement of the King's Service, and privacy to the Treaty with the Scots, and whatever was intended by the Earl of Holland: The Countess of Carlisle, who was trusted by all that People, and had gotten again confidence with the Queen, trusted Mr. Lowe, who was employed by the City in this Negotiation, to say many things to the Prince of the good inclinations of the City, and how necessary it was not to irritate it. And he brought other Letters, and Testimonies to give him credit, as a Man trusted by all who intended to serve the King, who had with wonderful Address got him to be one of those employed by the City, that he might, under that security, give such Animadversions to the Prince, and to his Council, as was necessary. He was a Man intelligent enough of the spirit and humour of the City, and very conversant with the Nobility and Gentry about the Town; and though he was trusted by the Presbyterian Party, as a Man entirely addicted to Them, he took pains to insinuate himself into many of the King's Party, which did believe him fit to be trusted in any thing that might concern them. But he was a Man of so voluble a Tongue, and so everlasting a Talker, and so undertaking and vain, that no sober Man could be imposed upon by him.

UPON the receipt of this Petition, the Prince writ a long ^{The Prince writes to the City.} Letter to the City, and inclosed in it a Declaration, for the publishing of both which in Print care was taken, the substance of which was, "the great affection he bore to the City, "and the prosperity thereof; the whole being in such a Style as might best please the Presbyterians, with less care than should have been used to preserve the Zeal of the King's Party; and desiring "that they should joyn with him for the delivery

“of the King his Father out of Prison, and to make a good understanding between his Majesty and the Parliament, which his Highness desired with all imaginable concernment. The Citizens quickly found, that there was no hope to have their Ship releas'd without a good Sum of Money, which the Prince told them was absolutely necessary for the payment of the Sea-men, and he would receive it as a loan from them, and repay it when a Peace should be made. So some of them return'd to *London*, and the rest remain'd with the Fleet, coming and going for a Month, and driving many bargains for other Ships. By this means the Prince receiv'd Advertisement of the *Scots* continuing their march, and that those who were inclos'd in *Colechester*, were in a very good condition, and willing to expect relief; which they would be sure to receive in due time, the *Earl of Holland* being ready to declare as soon as their pressuures should require it. After near a Months negotiation, there was about twelve thousand pounds paid to the Prince; and thereupon that Cloath Ship was deliver'd to the Merchants, with a general opinion, as hath been said, that there was somewhat else besides Cloath in the Body of it; for which there was not any Search suffer'd to be made.

WHILST the Prince lay in the *Douws*, there was an Enterprize necessary to be made on Shore, which did not succeed to wish. Upon the first revolt of the Fleet from the Parliament, and before it set sail for *Holland*, it had taken one or two of those Block-Houses, or Castles, which are nearest the *Douws*; and had left some Sea-men in them, with sufficient Provisions to defend themselves till the Fleet should return. The Prince found these Block-Houses besieged, and receiv'd Intelligence out of them, that their Provisions were so near spent, that they could not hold out above so many days. The strength that lay before them, consisted more in Horse than Foot; and at high Tyde the Boats might go so near, that there seem'd little difficulty of putting in relief, or to compel the Besiegers to rise: and the Sea-men, having nothing else to do, offer'd to undertake the Service for the redemption of their Fellows; many Land-Officers being likewise on board, and some Foot Soldiers, the Prince sent some of those with the Sea-men to undertake the business, but it had no good issue; the Tyde was too far spent before it begun; whereby they had more ground to march between their Landing and the Castle than they imagined, and the Horse charged them with such resolution, that many of the Men were killed, and more taken Prisoners, and the rest forced to their Boats with more disorder than became them. And some other attempts being afterwards made with no better success, the Block-Houses at last

last came into the hands of the Enemy; which, though of little inconvenience to the Prince, those Forts being of very small importance to do any prejudice, yet there was some disreputation in it; and it discredited the designs, which had not yet appear'd very prosperous in any place; and any access of good Fortune raised the Spirits of the Parliament's Party, who easily were persuaded to think it greater than it was, in a time when they lay under some Mortification.

By this time another Fleet was prepared by the Parliament of more and better Ships than had Revolted, and the Command thereof given to the Earl of *Warwick*; who very frankly accepted it; and was already on board, and with the Tyde was come within sight of the Prince; and there dropped Anchor. So that both Fleets lay within that distance of each other, that there was now nothing thought of but a Battle; to which there seem'd all alacrity in the Prince's Fleet; and, it may be, the more upon the Intelligence that the other was not well Mann'd, and that many were put on board who had more affection for the King; which they would manifest when they came within distance: but whether that fancy was from Imagination or Intelligence, it seem'd to have no foundation in truth.

THE Earl of *Warwick* and his Fleet appear'd resolute and prepared enough for an Engagement: yet it was well known, that the Earl was privy to the Engagement of his Brother the Earl of *Holland*, and had promised to joyn with him. And therefore it was thought fit, that the Prince should write to the Earl to summon, or invite him to return to his Allegiance. This was sent by *Harry Seymour*, who quickly return'd with an Answer from the Earl, which, in terms of Duty enough, humbly besought his Highness "to put himself into the hands of the Parliament; and that the Fleet with him might submit to their Obedience; upon which they should be pardoned for their Revolt."

THOUGH this might well have satisfied concerning the Earl's inclination, yet the Prince was prevail'd with that Mr *Crofts* might give the Earl a visit; who, having more acquaintance with him, having Married his Aunt, might be able to get a private Audience of the Earl; which *Seymour* endeavour'd, but could not obtain. But *Crofts* return'd as the other did; and now there wanted only a Wind to bring them together, which coming fair for the Prince, he resolv'd to attack them. All Anchors were weigh'd, and preparations made to advance to the Assault, the whole Fleet being under Sail towards the other; which seem'd equally resolv'd and disposed, though the Wind, which drove the Prince upon them, compell'd them a little to retire, where the River was somewhat

The Parliament prepares a Fleet against the Revolted Fleet, under Command of the Earl of Warwick.

The Prince writes to the Earl of Warwick. His Answer.

narrower. In an instant the Wind ceased, and there was a Calm ; so that the Prince could not advance ; and some doubts arose, upon the narrowing of the River, as if some of his Ships might want Water in the Engagement. In this deliberation the Wind arose again, but from another Quarter, which was directly in the Prince's face ; and would not suffer him to move towards the Enemy, but drove him back, and would carry him out of the River. Hereupon were new consultations ; great want of Provisions was discover'd to be in the Fleet, inasmuch as that they should not be able to stay at Sea above ten days, and many Ships would want sooner, and therefore since the Earl of *Warwick*, as the Wind stood, could not be compell'd to Fight, and they were in danger to be distressed for Provisions, it was thought most Counselable to put to Sea ; where they could more commodiously engage in a Battle, if the Earl of *Warwick* would advance ; and if he did not, there was great reason to hope, that the Prince might meet with those Ships which were coming from *Portsmouth* to joyn with the Earl, and which might easily be surpris'd or taken by the Prince's Fleet ; which was much superior to them in strength.

The Prince went to Sea towards Holland, after having attempted to Fight the Earl of Warwick.

The Earl of Warwick follows him towards Holland.

Duke Hamilton enters England about the middle of July.

The Duke's march.

At this time the Earl of *Lauterdale* arriv'd in a Ship from *Scotland* ; and having left Duke *Hamilton* upon his march towards *Berwick*, he was sent to demand the performance of the Treaty, and that the Prince would immediately repair to that Army. This confirm'd the Prince in the purpose of putting out to Sea, since it was absolutely necessary to carry the Fleet first into *Holland*, before it could transport him into the Northern parts. So the whole Fleet went to Sea, and continued their course for *Holland*, with hope still to meet with those Ships which were coming from *Portsmouth*. And meet with them they did in the Night ; which the Prince knew not till the Morning ; when one put the fault upon another ; and it was now necessary to make all possible hast to *Holland*, since by the conjunction with these Ships, besides all other Advantages, the Earl of *Warwick* was now become superior in the number, as well as the strength and goodness of his Ships ; which appear'd by his coming before *Helvoet Sluce*, within few days after the Prince's arrival there.

It was near the middle of *July*, when Duke *Hamilton* enter'd into *England* with his Army, when he came to *Carlisle*, and immediately took that Government from *Sr Philip Musgrave*, and drew out all the *English* Garrison, and put *Scots* in their place. And after some few days stay there, the *English* and *Scottish* Forces met at a Rendezvous, in the way to that part of *Cumberland* where *Lambert* then Quarter'd : and if they had continued their March, as they ought to have done,

it is very probable they had broken that Body of *Lambert's*. But the Duke would Quarter that Night two Miles short; and *Lambert*, in the same Night, marched from thence in great disorder and confusion to the edge of *Yorkshire*. The Duke rested many days, that all his Forces might come up, which came slowly out of *Scotland*. As soon as they were come up, he marched to *Kendal*; where he rested again several days; the reason whereof no body could imagine. It was suspected it was that those Forces which were up in several parts of the Kingdom, for the King, might undergo some defeat, that they might not be so united, as to controule or obstruct the Presbyterian design. For after that Army was enter'd into *England*, it moved, as hath been said, by such very slow Marches, and so negligently, and with so little apprehension of an Enemy, and it was Quarter'd at so great a distance, that the head Quarter was very often twenty Miles distant from some part of the Army; the Duke himself performing no part of the office of a General, but taking his ease, and being wholly govern'd by the Lieutenant General of the Army, and two or three other Officers.

SIR *Marmaduke Langdale* marched, with his Body of *Eng-lish*, consisting of near four thousand Foot, and seven or eight hundred Horse, always a day before the Army; by which they intended to have timely Advertisement of the Enemies motion, and likewise meant that he should bear the first brunt of them, desiring to weaken him by all the ways they could. They had not marched many days, it being now near the middle of *August*, when Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* Advertised the Duke, by an Express, "that he had receiv'd unquestionable Intelligence that *Cromwell* was within two or three days march, and resolv'd to engage his Army as soon as possibly he could, and that he would not be diverted from it, by the People's gathering together at any distance from him, in what posture soever; and therefore desired his Grace, "that he would keep his Army close together; for they could not be far asunder with any security; and declared; "that he himself would rest, and wait the advance of the Enemy, "and then retire back as he should find it necessary.

THE Duke, notwithstanding this Advertisement, reformed not the Order of his March in any degree, but was persuaded "that the Enemy could not be so near; and that, if "*Cromwell* was advanced to such a distance, it was only with such a Party, as he would not presume to engage with their whole Army. In this confidence, he marched as he had done before. Sir *Marmaduke* sent him every day advice that confirm'd the former, "and that his Horse had encounter'd some of the Enemy, and that their whole Body was at hand;

Vol. III. Part. 1.

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"but that it was true, it was not a Body equal in number to their Army, yet all that *Cromwell* expected was to joyn Battle with him. All this gain'd not credit, till *Sr Marmaduke* himself, making his retreat with very sharp Skirmishes, in which many Men fell on both sides, was pursued into the head Quarters of the Duke; whither he likewise brought with him some Prisoners, who averr'd, that the whole Body of the Army was within five or six Miles, and marched as fast as they were able.

THE Duke was confounded with the Intelligence, and knew not what to do: the Army was not together; and that part that was about him, was without any order, and made no shew of any purpose to Fight. In this Amazement, the Duke stay'd himself with some Officers at *Preston*; and caus'd his Foot to be drawn over a Bridge, that they might march towards *Wigan*, a Town in *Lancashire*, where he should, as he thought, find some Regiments, and where they might make some stand till the rest should come up. In the mean time *Sr Marmaduke Langdale* return'd to his Troops, the Duke having promised to send him some Troops to assist, and that some Foot should be sent to keep a Lane, that would flank his Men upon his retreat. *Sr Marmaduke* retired before the Enemy, and drew up his Troops into the Clofes near *Preston*. The Enemy followed him close, and press'd him very hard; notwithstanding which he maintain'd the dispute for above six hours with great Courage, and with very great loss to the Enemy in Officers, and Common Soldiers; inasmuch as they seem'd to retire, at least to make a stand. And in all this time the Scots sent him no Assistance, but concluded that it was not *Cromwell's* whole Army that assaulted him, but only some Party, which he would himself be well enough able to disengage himself from. And *Sr Marmaduke Langdale* told me often afterwards, "that he verily believ'd, if one thousand Foot had then been sent to him, he should have gained the day: and *Cromwell* himself acknowledged, that he never saw Foot Fight so desperately as They did.

Sr M. Langdale fighting, and is beaten; and *Duke Hamilton* routed.

THE Scots continued their march over the Bridge, without taking care to secure the Lane, which he had recommended to them; by which *Cromwell's* Horse came upon his Flank, whilst he was equally press'd in the Van. So that his excellent Body of Foot being broken, *Sr Marmaduke*, and such of His Horse as kept together, were driven into the Town, where the Duke remain'd yet with some Officers; who all retreated over a Ford to the Foot, who were in equal disorder. For as soon as the *English* Forces were broken, the Scots were presently beaten from the Bridge, and forced to a very disorderly march. However, the Duke had still a great part of his own

Army together; with which he continued to march two or three days to *Wigan*; thence, to *Warrington*; where *Baily* Capitulated, and deliver'd up all the Foot; thence to *Nantwich*, and at last to *Uxeter*; and in all that time many of the *Scottish* Noblemen forsook him, and render'd themselves Prisoners to the Gentlemen of the Country; and *Cromwell's* Troops under *Lambert*, pressed so hard upon the Rear, that they killed, and took as many Prisoners as they pleased, without hazarding their own Men. The Duke was scarce got into *Uxeter*, when his Troops, which made no resistance, were beaten upon him, and so close pursued by *Cromwell's* Horse under *Lambert*, that himself and all the principal Officers (some few excepted, who, lying concealed, or by the benefit of the swiftness of their Horses, made their escape) were taken Prisoners: the Duke neither behaving himself like a General, nor with that Courage which he was before never thought to want; but making all submission, and all excuses to those who took him.

THUS his whole Army was Routed, and Defeated; more killed out of contempt, than that they deserv'd it by any opposition; the rest taken Prisoners, all their Cannon and Baggage taken, and their Colours; only some of their Horse, which had been Quarter'd most backward, made hast to carry news to their Country of the ill success of their Armes. They who did not take the way for *Scotland*, were for the most part taken by the activity of the Country, or the Horse that pursued them; whereof *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, after he had made his way with some of his Officers and Soldiers, who stood with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, had the ill Fortune to be discover'd; and was so taken Prisoner, and sent to the Castle of *Nottingham*. All this great Victory was got by *Cromwell* with an Army amounting to a third part of the *Scots* in Number, if they had been all together; and it was not diminished half a hundred in obtaining this Victory, after the *English* Forces under *Langdale* had been defeated.

It may be proper now to mention, that the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had many misadventures; which detain'd them from attending upon the Prince in the Fleet. As soon as they heard that his Highness had put himself on board a Ship at *Calais* to find the Fleet in *Holland*, they embarked at *Diepe*, in a *French* Man of War that was bound for *Dunkirk*; where when they arriv'd, they found a Gentleman, a Servant of the Prince's, who inform'd them, "that the Prince was with the whole Fleet in the Downs," "and that he had sent him with a Letter to the Marshal and "Zew, who was Governour of *Dunkirk*, to borrow a Frigate

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"of

“ of him ; which he had there, and had by some civil Message offer'd to lend to his Highness ; and the Marshal, who receiv'd them with great civility, assured them that the Frigate should be ready the next day, and if they pleas'd to make use of it, should carry them to the Prince.

THEY look'd upon it as a good opportunity, which would deliver them much sooner at the Fleet, than they had before expected to be ; and so, without weighing the Dangers which might accompany it, and might very naturally have been foreseen, they embraced the occasion ; there being no hazard which they apprehended at Sea, but that they might be taken by the Parliament Ships ; which, by the Prince's being with his Fleet in the Downs, and so being Master at Sea, was hardly possible. So they unwarily put themselves into that Frigate, and set Sail in the Evening from *Dunkirk* ; presuming that they should, the next Morning, find themselves in the Downs with the Prince. But there was so dead a calm that Night, that they made very little way ; and, the next Morning, they found that they were chased by six or seven Frigates of *Offend*. In short, they were taken Prisoners, and plunder'd of all they had (which amounted to good value in Jewels and Money) and were carried into *Offend*, where, though they were presently at liberty, they were compell'd to stay many days, not without some hope, rais'd by the civility of the *Spanish* Governour, and the Lords of the Admiralty there, who very liberally promised an entire restitution of all that they had lost. But that being without any effect, that brutish People, the Free-booters, being subject to no Government, they found means to give notice to the Prince of all that happen'd, and that they would attend his Command at *Flushing* ; whither they easily went. Within few days after, the Prince, out of the Downs, sent a Frigate for them to *Flushing* ; where they embarked several times, and were at Sea the whole Night, and in the Morning driven back by high Winds, sometimes into *Flushing*, sometimes to *Ramijkus* ; and so were compelled to go to *Middleborough*, and after a Months stay in those places, and many attempts to get to Sea, they receiv'd Order from the Prince to attend him in *Holland*, whither he had resolv'd to go, as soon as the Earl of *Lauterdale* arriv'd from *Scotland* in the Fleet, and had deliver'd his imperious invitation for the Prince's immediate repair to the *Scottish* Army ; which was then enter'd into *England*. By this means they came not to the Prince, till the next day after he came to the *Hague*, having left the Fleet before *Goree* and near *Helvoet Sluce*.

The Prince
comes to the
Hague.

THE Prince was receiv'd by the States with all outward respect, and treated by them for four or five days at their charge ;

charge; his Royal Highness every Night lodging in the Palace, which belonged to the States too, where the Prince of *Orange* and the Princess lay, and where both his Royal Highness and the Duke of *York* had very good apartments; the Prince and Duke, after two or three days, always eating with the Princess Royal, the Prince of *Orange* himself keeping his own Table open, according to custom, for the resort of such of the States, or Officers of the Army, or other Noble Persons, who frequently repaired thither.

THE Prince of *Wales*'s Court was full of Faction, and Animosity against each other, so that the new comers were not only very well receiv'd by the Prince, but very welcome to every Body, who being angry with the other Counsellors there, believ'd that matters would be better carried now they were come. They had not been an hour in the *Hague*, when *Herbert* the Attorney General came to them, and congratulated their Arrival, and told them "how much they had been wanted, and how much Prince *Rupert* longed for their Company." And within a very short time after, Prince *Rupert* himself came to bid them welcome, with all possible grace, and profession of great kindness and esteem for them. They both inveighed bitterly against the whole administration of the Fleet, in which most part of the Court, which had been present, and who agreed in nothing else, concurr'd with them.

Divisions among the Prince of Wales's Court.

THE whole clamour was against the Lord *Colepepper*, and *Sr Robert Long* the Prince's Secretary, who, by the Queen's injunction, was wholly subservient to the Lord *Colepepper*. They accused them of corruption, not only with reference to the Cloath Ship, but to the release of very many other Ships, which they had discharged upon no other reason, but as it would be a very Popular thing, and make the Prince grateful to the City of *London*. Though there was much discourse of Money brought to both their Cabins by *Mr Lowe*, yet there was never any proof made of any corruption in the Lord *Colepepper*, who was not indeed to be wrought upon that way; but, having some infirmities, and a multitude of Enemies, he was never absolv'd from any thing of which any Man accused him; and the other was so notoriously inclined to that way of Husbandry, that he was always thought guilty of more than he was charged with. It was true enough that great Riches were parted with, and had been released for little or no Money; which being now exceedingly wanted, made it easily believ'd that such unthrifty Counsel could not have been given, except by those who were well rewarded for it; which still fell upon those two.

THERE was a general murmur that the Fleet had lain so long

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long idle at the mouth of the River, when it had been proposed that it might go to the Isle of *Wight*, where they might, in the consternation the whole Kingdom was then in, probably have been able to have released the King; *Carisbrooke* being near the Sea, a Castle not strong in it self, the Island well affected, and at that time under no such power as could subdue them. And why such an attempt, which, if unsuccessful, could have been attended with no damage considerable, was not made, was never fully Answer'd.

THEY were very angry with *Batten*, and would have it Treachery in him, that the two Fleets did not Fight with each other, when they were so near engaging in the River; which, they said, they might well have done before the Wind changed, if he had not dissuaded the Prince; and in this the clamour of the Sea-men joyn'd with them. But it was but clamour, for most dispassionate Men gave him a good Testimony in that affair, and that he behaved himself like a skilful Officer, and was very forward to Fight whilst there was reason to effect it. The other reproach upon him of passing by the Ships which came from *Portsmouth*, in the Night, was not so well Answer'd: for it was known, though he said that they were pass'd by, and out of reach before he was inform'd of them, that he had notice time enough to have engaged them, and did decline it; which might reasonably enough have been done, out of apprehension, besides the inconvenience of a Night Engagement, that the noise of the conflict might have called the Earl of *Warwick* out of the River to their Assistance, before they could have master'd them; there being two or three of the best Ships of the Royal Navy, which would have made a very notable resistance. But this being never urged by himself, and what would have been too much for him to have taken upon himself, it was imputed to his Cowardize, of which the Sea-men, as well as the Courtiers, accused him; though, as was generally thought, without reason, and only with prejudice to the Man for what he had done before, and because he was a Man of a regular and orderly course of Life, and Command, and of very few words, and less passion than at that time rais'd Men to reputation in that Province. There was only one Man in the Council of whom no body spoke ill, nor laid any thing to his Charge; and that was the Lord *Hopton*. But there was then such a combination, by the countenance of Prince *Essex*, with all the other Lords of the Court, and the Attorney General, upon former grudges, to undervalue him, that they had drawn the Prince himself to have a less esteem of him than his singular Virue, and Fidelity, and his unquestionable Courage, and Industry (all which his Enemies could not deny that he excelled in) did deserve.

THIS

THIS State the Court was in, when the two lately mention'd Counsellors came; who quickly discern'd, by the unsteady humours, and strong passions all Men were possessed with, that they should not preserve the Reputation they seem'd to have with every Body for the present, any long time, and foresaw that necessity would presently break in upon them like an Arm'd Man, that would disturb and distract all their Counsels. And there was, even at the instant in which they arriv'd at the *Hague*, the fatal Advertisement of that Defeat of the *Scotish* Army, which must break all their measures, and render the condition of the Prince, and of the whole Kingdom, very deplorable, and leave that of the King his Father in the utmost despair.

THE Rumour of this Defeat came to the *Hague* the next day after the Prince came thither, but not so particularly that the extent of it was known, or the Tragical effects yet thoroughly understood. And his Highness appointing his Council to meet together the next Morning after the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came thither, he inform'd them of the Lord *Lautherdale's* Message to him from the Parliament of *Scotland*, and that he very earnestly pressed him, ever since the News of the Defeat, that he would forthwith repair to their Army; and his Highness thought fit, that the Earl should give an Account of his Commission at the Board; whereupon he was sent for in; and, that all respect might be shew'd to the Parliament of *Scotland*, he had a Chair allow'd him to sit upon.

HE first read his Commission from the Parliament, and then the Letter which the Parliament had writ to the Prince; in which, having at large magnified the great Affection of the Parliament, "that out of their native, and constant Affection and Duty to their King, and finding that, contrary to the Duty of Subjects, his Majesty was imprison'd by the Traiterous and Rebellious Army in *England*, they had rais'd an Army in that Kingdom, that, since their Advice, Counsel, and Entreaty in an amicable way, could not prevail, might by force redeem his Majesty's Person from that captivity; which they held themselves obliged by their solemn League and Covenant to endeavour to do, with the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes: That this Army was already enter'd into *England*, under the Command of *James Duke Hamilton*, whom, in respect of his known and eminent fidelity to his Majesty, they had made General thereof; and having now done all that was in their power to do for the present, and having taken due care for the seasonable supply and recruit of that Army, they now sent to his Highness, that he would with all possible speed, according to

The Letter of the Parliament of Scotland to the Prince,

"the promise which the King his Father had made, transport
 "his Royal Person, that he might himself be in the head of
 "that Army to obtain the Liberty of his Father; and they
 "desired him, "that for the circumstances of his Journey he
 "would be advised by the Earl of *Lantherdale*, to whom they
 "had given full Instructions; and they besought his Highness
 "to give credit to him in all things.

THE Earl likewise shew'd his Instructions, by which none
 of the Prince's Chaplains were to be admitted to attend him,
 and great care to be taken, that none but *Godly Men* should
 be suffer'd to be about the Person of his Highness; and par-
 ticularly that neither Prince *Rupert*, nor the Chancellor of the
 Exchequer, nor some other Persons should be admitted to go
 with the Prince. And after all these things were read and
 enlarged upon, he pressed the Prince, with all imaginable in-
 stance, and without taking notice of any thing that was be-
 fallen their Army in *England*, of which he could not but have
 had particular relation, that he would lose no time from en-
 tring upon his Journey; and all this with as insolent, and
 supercilious behaviour, as if their Army had been triumphant.

*Deliberation
 in the Prin-
 ce's Council
 about it.*

WHEN he had said all he meant to say, he sat still, as if
 he expected to hear what the Prince or any Body else would
 say to what he propos'd. It was then mov'd, "that, if he
 "had no more to say, he would withdraw, to the end that
 "the Council might Debate the matter, before they gave
 "their Advice to the Prince. He took this motion very ill,
 and said "he was a Privy Counsellor to the King in *Scotland*,
 "and being likewise a Commissioner from the Parliament,
 "he ought not to be excluded from any Debate that con-
 "cern'd the Affair upon which he was employ'd. This he
 urg'd in so imperious, and offensive a manner, that drew on
 much sharpness; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who
 knew him very well since the Treary at *Uxbridge*, where
 they had often differ'd in matters of the highest importance,
 treated him with the same liberty they had then been ac-
 custom'd to. He told him, "he meant not to say any thing
 "in that Debate, when he should be withdrawn, that he de-
 "sired should be concealed from him, or unheard by him;
 "and that he was ready to say, that in his judgement, all
 "he had propos'd was very unreasonable; but he would not
 "that the Dignity of the Board should be prostituted to his
 "Demand, nor that he should be present there at any Debate.
 The Earl replied, "that he was sent by the Parliament, and
 "Kingdom of *Scotland*, to the Prince of *Wales*, and that he
 "did protest against having any thing he propos'd to be
 "treated, and debated by, or before the *English* Board; nor
 "did he consider what was, or should be said, by any Man
 "but

“but the Prince himself. The Prince told him, “it was necessary that he himself should hear, and know what the opinion of the Council should be; and that it was as unreasonable that He should be present; and thereupon Commanded him to withdraw; which he presently submitted to with indecency enough. The Prince then told them, “that there were some Persons come to the Town, the last night, “who came out of *England* after the News of the Victory over the *Scots* came to *London*, with all the circumstances thereof; and of the Duke's being taken Prisoner; and that the Prince of *Orange* had told him, “that the States had received Intelligence of it from their Embassadour *Newport*, “who resided in *London*. Upon the whole matter, the Prince resolv'd “to meet again the next Morning to Consult farther what he was to do, and that probably, in the mean time, “the Intelligence would be more perfect. and unquestionable, “and they should see whether *Lauterdale* would take any notice of it.

BUT the Night made no alteration in him; he appeared the next Morning with the same confidence, and the same opportunity for the Prince to remove, and begin his Journey. He was asked, “whether he had received no Information of some ill Fortune, that had befallen that Army, which might “so change the case since he left *Scotland*, that what might “Then have been fit, would be Now unfit and uncounselable? The Earl said, “he knew well what the News was from *England*; and whatever he hoped, that he was not confident it was not true; however he hoped, that would not “change the Prince's purpose, but that it would more concern him to pursue the resolution he was formerly obliged “to; that if any misfortune had befallen that Army, the Prince “had the more reason to endeavour to repair it; which could “be done no other way, than by his making all possible haste “into *Scotland*; which remain'd still a Kingdom entire, wholly devoted to his Service; and that, by the benefit of his “presence, might quickly draw together another Army, towards which there was a good beginning already by the preservation of that Body under *Mourae*: That if his Highness “should decline this only probable way to preserve Himself, “and to recover his other two Kingdoms, it would be thought “he had little zeal for the Liberty of his Father, and as little “for his own Interest, and for the preservation of the Crown; “he therefore besought his Highness, that he would cause “some of his Ships to be forthwith made ready, and would “therein immediately Transport himself into *Scotland*; whereby the late wound would, in a short time, be healed; which “would otherwise prove incurable.

BUT

The Earl of
Lauther-
dale returns
into Scot-
land.

BUT *Scotland* was so well known, and the power of *Argyle* (which must be now greater than ever by the total defeat of the contrary Party) that his Proposition was by all dispassionate Men thought to be very extravagant, and not to be hearken'd to: and the News from *London*, that *Cromwell* was marched into *Scotland* with his whole Army, confirm'd every honest Man in that opinion. And within few days the Earl of *Lautherdale* seem'd rather to think of going thither himself, where his own Concernments were in great danger, than of pressing the Prince to so hazardous a Voyage; and after a few Weeks more stay at the *Hague*, upon the Intelligence from his Friends in *Scotland*, how Affairs went there, he return'd thither in the same Ship that Transported him from thence, with as much Rage and Malice against the Council about the Prince, as against *Cromwell* himself.

Sir Tho.
Tildesley
retires to
Monroe.

THE Defeat of the *Scottish* Army at *Preston*, though it was not at first believ'd to be an entire Victory over their whole Body, there being double that number that was not there or that marched from thence, broke or disappointed most of the designs which were on foot for raising Men, in those Northern Counties, for the King's Service, to have joyn'd and united under *St Marmaduke Langdale*. *St Thomas Tildesley*, a Gentleman of a fair Estate, who had serv'd the King from the beginning of the War with good Courage, was then with a Body of *English*, with which he had Besieged the Castle of *Lancaster*, and was upon the point of Reducing it, when the News of *Preston* arriv'd. It was then necessary to quit that design; and hearing that Major General *Monroe*, who, shortly after the Duke marched out of *Scotland*, followed him with a Recruit of above six thousand Horse and Foot, was come to the skirts of *Lancashire*, he retired thither to him, having gather'd up many of *St Marmaduke Langdale's* Men, who had been broken at *Preston*, and some others who had been newly Levied. *St Thomas Tildesley* moved *Monroe*, "that his Forces, "and some Regiments of *Scots*, who yet remain'd about *Kendal*, might joyn with the *English* under his Command, and "march together towards *Preston*, and follow *Cromwell* in the "Rear, as He pursued the *Scots*: which they might very well have done, being a Body, when in conjunction, of above eight thousand Men; which was equal in number to the Army under *Cromwell*. But the Major General would not consent to the Motion, but retired to the farther part of *Westmoreland*; and the *English* followed them in the Rear; presuming, that though they would not be perswaded to advance after *Cromwell*, yet that they would choose some other more convenient Post to make a stand in, if the Enemy follow'd them; and then that they would be glad to joyn with them:

to which he was pressed again the next day, but continued still fast in his Sullen Resolution, without declaring what he meant to do; and retired through *Cumberland*, where he had left a sad remembrance of his having passed that way a few days before, having then raised vast Sums of Money upon the poor People, and now in his retreat plunder'd almost all they had left.

THE *English* marched into the Bishoprick of *Durham*, to joyn with such new Levies as were then raising there; and their number being encreased by the addition of those Troops which were under the Command of *Sr Henry Bellingham*, they met again Major General *Monroe* in *Northumberland*, and desired him "that they might unite together against the Common Enemy, who equally desired the destruction of them both. But he resolutely refused, and told them plainly, "that he would march directly into *Scotland* and expect Orders there; which he did, with all possible Expedition.

SIR *Philip Musgrave* believ'd that he and his Foot might be welcome to *Carlisle*; and went thither; and sent *Sr Henry Bellingham*, *Sr Robert Strickland*, and Colonel *Charter*, to the Earl of *Lanrick*, and offer'd that they should carry their Troops into *Scotland* to joyn with him; who he knew well would stand in need of help. But he durst not accept their Motion, saying, "if he should, *Argyle* would from thence take an excuse to invite *Cromwell*; who they heard was then upon his march towards *Berwick*, to bring his Army into *Scotland*: upon which *Sr Henry Bellingham* return'd with the Party he Commanded into *Cumberland*, paying for all they had through that part of *Scotland* it was necessary for them to pass through.

SIR *Philip Musgrave* had no better success with *Sr William Livingstone*, the Governour of *Carlisle*; for though he receiv'd him very Civilly, and enter'd into a Treaty with him (for he knew well enough that he was not able to Victual, or Defend the place without the assistance of the *English*, and therefore desired the assistance of *Sr Philip* in both.) yet when Articles were agreed upon, and sign'd by *Sr Philip Musgrave*, the Governour fell back; and refused to engage himself "not to deliver up the Garrison without the consent of *Sr Philip Musgrave*; who was contented that none of his Men should come within the Walls, until it should be most apparent, that they could no longer keep the Field.

WITHIN a short time after, Orders were sent out of *Scotland* for the delivery of *Berwick* and *Carlisle* to the Parliament; in which Orders there was not the least mention of making Conditions for the *English*. *Sr Philip Musgrave* had yet *Appleby Castle* in his own possession, having taken it after he had deliver'd *Carlisle* to Duke *Hamilton*; and after he was marched from

from thence. By this good accident, upon the delivery of it up, which could not long have made any defence, he made Conditions for himself, and one hundred and fifty Officers, many of them Gentlemen of Quality, who liv'd again to venture, and some, to lose their Lives for the King: after which, he soon Transported himself into *Holland*.

CROMWELL resolv'd to lose no advantage he had got, but as soon as he had perfected his Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*, by gathering up as many Prisoners, as he could, of the dispersed Troops, he marched directly towards *Scotland*, to pull up the Roots there, from which any farther trouble might spring hereafter; though he was very earnestly called upon from *York-shire* to reduce those at *Pontefract* Castle; which grew very troublesome to all their Neighbours; and, not satisfied with drawing Contributions from all the parts adjacent, they made Excursions into places at a great distance, and took divers substantial Men Prisoners, and carried them to the Castle; where they remain'd till they redeem'd themselves by great Ransoms. However, he would not defer his Northern march; but believing that he should be in a short time capable to take Vengeance upon those Affronts, he satisfied himself in sending Colonel *Rainsborough*, with some Troops of Horse and Foot, to restrain their adventures, and to keep them blocked up; and himself, with the rest of his Army, continued their march for *Scotland*, it being about the end of *August*, or beginning of *September*, before the Harvest of that Country was yet ripe; and so capable of being destroy'd.

Cromwell
marches into
Scotland.

IT was generally believ'd, that the Marquis of *Argyle* earnestly invited him to this Progress; for the Defeat of the *Scottish* Army in *England* had not yet enough made him Master of *Scotland*. There was still a Committee of Parliament sitting at *Edenborough*, in which, and in the Council, the Earl of *Laurick* sway'd without a Rival; and the Troops which had been raised under *Monroe* for the Recruit of the Duke's Army, were still together, and at the Earl's devotion; so that the Marquis was still upon his good behaviour. If he did not invite *Cromwell*, he was very glad of his coming; and made all possible haste to bid him welcome upon his entering into the Kingdom. They made great shews of being mutually glad to see each other, being linked together by many promises, and professions, and by an entire conjunction in guilt.

THERE was no Act of Hostility committed; *Cromwell* declaring, "that he came with his Army to preserve the Godly Party, and to free the Kingdom from a force, which it was under, of Malignant Men, who had forced the Nation to break the Friendship with their Brethren of *England*, who had been so faithful to them: That it having pleased God

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“to Defeat that Army under Duke *Hamilton*, who endeavour’d
 “to engage the two Nations in each others Blood, he was
 “come thither to prevent any farther mischief, and to remove
 “those from Authority who had used their Power there so ill;
 “and that he hoped he should, in very few days, return with
 “an assurance of the Brotherly Affection of that Kingdom to
 “the Parliament of *England*; which did not desire in any de-
 “gree to invade their Liberties, or infringe their Privileges.
 He was Conducted to *Edenborough* by the Marquis of *Argyle*, ^{who receiv’d}
 where he was receiv’d with all solemnity, and the respect due ^{at Edenbor-}
 to the Deliverer of their Country, and his Army Quarter’d ^{rough.}
 about, and supplied with all Provisions the Country could
 yield.

THE Earl of *Laurick*, and all the *Hamiltonian* Faction
 (that is all who had a mind to continue of it) were with-
 drawn, and out of reach; and they who remain’d at *Eden-*
borough were resolv’d to obey *Argyle*; who they saw could
 protect them. There were then enough left of the Com-
 mittee of Parliament to take care of the Safety and Good of
 the Kingdom, without putting *Cromwell* to help them by the
 Power of the *English*; which would have been a great discre-
 dit to their Government. Whilst he remain’d their Guest
 (whom they entertain’d magnificently) *Argyle* thought him-
 self able by the Laws of *Scotland*, to reform all that was amiss,
 and preserve the Government upon the true foundation. So ^{The Committee}
 the Committee of Parliament sent to *Monroe* an Order and ^{of the}
 Command to Disband his Troops; which when he seem’d ^{Scottish Par-}
 resolv’d not to do, he quickly discern’d that *Cromwell* must be ^{liament order}
 Arbitrator; and thereupon he observ’d the Orders of the ^{Monroe to}
 Committee very punctually: so that there was no Power in ^{Disband.}
Scotland that could oppose the Command of *Argyle*; the Com-
 mittee of Parliament, the Council, all the Magistrates of *Eden-*
borough, were at his devotion; and whoever were not so, were
 either in Prison, or fled. The Pulpits were full of Invectives
 against the Sins of the late Engagement, and solemn
 Fasts enjoy’d by the Assembly to implore God’s pardon and
 forgiveness for that heinous Transgression; the Chancellor
Lowden giving the good example, by making his Recantation
 and humble Submission with many Tears. *Cromwell* had rea-
 son to believe that it would henceforward prove as peaceable
 a Kingdom as he could wish; and having thus concerted all
 things with his bosome Friend *Argyle* (who resolv’d, as soon
 as he was withdrawn a distance from *Edenborough*, that he and
 his Army might not be thought to have an influence upon
 the Councils, to call the Parliament to confirm all he should
 think fit to do) he return’d for *England*; where he thought ^{Cromwell}
 his Presence was like to be wanted. ^{returns for}
^{England.}

THE

THE Committee of Parliament at *Edinburgh* (who had Authority to Convene the Parliament when the Major part of them should please; care being taken in the nomination of them, that they were such as were thought most like to pursue the way they were enter'd into) sent out their Summons to call the Parliament. They who appear'd, were of another mind from what they had been formerly, and with the same Passion and Zeal with which they had enter'd into the Engagement, they now declared it unlawful, and ungodly; and the Assembly joyning with them, they Excommunicated all who had the most eminent Parts in the promoting it; and made them incapable of bearing any Office in the State, or of sitting in Council, or in Parliament; subjecting those who had sinned in a less degree, to such penalties as would for ever make them subject to their Government. By these judgements, amongst others, the Earl of *Lawrick* was depriv'd of being Secretary of State, and that Office was conferr'd upon the Earl of *Lothian*; who, in the beginning of the Rebellion, had been employ'd by the Conspirators into *France*, and coming afterwards into *England* was Imprison'd thereupon, and being after set at liberty continued amongst those who, upon all occasions, carried the Rebellion highest, and shewed the most implacable malice to the Person of the King. And by this time *Argyle* was become so much more Master of *Scotland* than *Cromwell* was of *England*, that he had not so much as the shadow of a Parliament to contend, or to comply with, or a necessity to exercise his known great Talent of dissimulation, all Men doing as he enjoyn'd them, without asking the reason of his direction.

The Scottish
Parliament,
being called,
condemns
Duke Ham-
ilton's
Engagement.

The Earl of
Holland
Rises; goes to
Kingston:

To return to the State of the King's Affairs in *England*: when the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel* with the *Kentish* and *Essex* Troops were inclosed in *Colchester*, their Friends could not reasonably hope that the *Scottish* Army, which had so long deferr'd their March into *England*, contrary to their promise, would, though they were now come in, march fast enough to relieve *Colchester* before they should be reduced by Famine. The Earl of *Holland* thought it necessary, since many who were in *Colchester*, had engaged themselves upon His promises and Authority, now to begin his Enterprize; to which the youth and warmth of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was General of the Horse, the Lord *Francis Villiers* his Brother, and divers other young Noblemen, spurr'd him on. And he might have the better opinion of his Interest and Party, in that his purpose of rising, and putting himself into Armes for the relief of *Colchester*, was so far from being a secret, that it was the common discourse of the Town. There was a great appearance every Morning, at his Lodging, of those

those Officers who were known to have serv'd the King ; his Commissions shew'd in many hands ; no question being more commonly asked, than " when doth my Lord *Holland* go out ? and the Answer was, " such and such a day ; and the hour he did take Horse, when he was accompanied by an hundred Horse from his House, was publicly talked of two or three days before.

HIS first Rendezvous was at *Kingston* upon *Thames* ; where he stayed two Nights, and one whole Day, expecting a great resort to him, not only of Officers, but of Common Men, who had promised, and list'd themselves under several Officers ; and he imputed the security he had enjoyed so long, notwithstanding his purpose was so generally known, to the Apprehension both the Parliament and the Army had of the Affections of the City to joyn with him ; and he believ'd, that he should not only remain secure at *Kingston*, as long as he should think fit to stay there, but that some entire Regiments of the City would march out with him for the Relief of *Colchester*.

DURING the short stay he made at *Kingston*, some Officers and Soldiers, both of Horse and Foot, came thither, and many Persons of Honour and Quality, in their Coaches, came to visit him and his Company from *London* ; and return'd thither again to provide what was still wanting, and resolv'd to be with him soon enough. The principal Officer the Earl relied upon (though he had better) was *Dalbeer* a *Dutchman*, of name and reputation, and good experience in War ; who had serv'd the Parliament as Commissary General of the Horse under the Earl of *Essex*, and having been left out in the new model, was amongst those discontented Officers who looked for an opportunity to be revenged of the Army ; which they deserv'd for their ill breeding, and much preaching. Thus *Dalbeer* was glad to depend upon the Earl of *Holland*, who thought himself likewise happy in such an Officer. The keeping good Guards, and sending out Parties towards the *Kentish* parts, where it was known some Troops remain'd since the last Commotion there, was committed to his care. But he discharged it so ill, or his Orders were so ill observ'd, that the second or third Morning after their coming to *Kingston*, some of the Parliament's Foot, with two or three Troops of Colonel *Rick's* Horse, fell upon a Party of the Earl's about *Newfich* ; and beat, and pursued them into *Kingston*, before those within had notice to be ready to receive them ; the Earl and most of the rest making too much hast out of Town, and never offering to Charge those Troops. In this confusion the Lord *Francis Villiers*, a youth of rare Beauty and comeliness of Person, endeavouring to make resistance, was unfortunately killed,

Escapes to St Neots, where he is taken. killed, with one or two more but of little note. Most of the Foot made a shift to conceal themselves, and some Officers, until they found means to retire to their close Mansions in *London*. The Earl with near an hundred Horse (the rest wisely taking the way to *London*, where they were never inquired after) wander'd without purpose, or design, and was, two or three days after, beset in an Inn at *St Neots* in *Huntington-shire*; by those few Horse who pursued him, being joyn'd with some Troops of Colonel *Scroop's*; where the Earl deliver'd himself Prisoner to the Officer without resistance: yet at the same time *Dalbeer* and *Kenelm Digby*, the eldest Son of *St Kenelm*, were killed upon the place; whether out of former grudges, or that they offer'd to defend themselves, was not known; and the Duke of *Buckingham* escaped, and happily found a way into *London*; where he lay concealed, till he had an opportunity to secure himself by being Transported into *Holland*; where the Prince was; who receiv'd him with great grace and kindness. The Earl of *Holland* remain'd Prisoner in the place where he was taken, till by Order from the Parliament he was sent to *Warwick* Castle, where he was kept Prisoner with great strictness.

THE total defeat of the *Scottish* Army lately mention'd succeeded this, and when those Noble Persons within *Colchester*, were advertis'd of both, they knew well that there was no possibility of relief, nor could they subsist longer to expect it, being press'd with want of all kind of Victual, and having eaten near all their Horses. They sent therefore to *Fairfax*, to treat about the delivery of the Town upon reasonable conditions, but he refus'd to treat, or give any conditions, if they would not render to mercy all the Officers, and Gentlemen; the Common Soldiers he was contented to dismiss. A day or two was spent in deliberation. They within, propos'd "to make a brisk Sally; and thereby to shift for themselves, "as many as could. But they had too few Horse, and the few that were left uneaten were too weak for that Enterprize. Then, "that they should open a Port, and every Man die "with their Armes in their hands; but that way they could only be sure of being killed, without much hurting their Adversaries, who had ways enough securely to assault them. Hereupon, they were in the end oblig'd to deliver themselves up Prisoners at mercy; and were, all the Officers and Gentlemen, led into the publick Hall of the Town; where they were lock'd up, and a strong Guard set upon them. They were required presently to send a list of all their Names to the General; which they did; and, within a short time after, a Guard was sent to bring *St Charles Lucas*, and *St George Lisle*, and *St Bernard Gascoigne* to the General, being late with his Council

Colchester deliver'd.

Council of War. They were carried in, and in a very short discourse told, "that after so long and so obstinate a defence "until they found it necessary to deliver themselves up to "mercy, it was necessary, for the example of others, and that "the Peace of the Kingdom might be no more disturbed in "that manner, that some Military justice should be executed; "and therefore, that Council had determin'd they three should "be presently shot to death; for which they were advised to prepare themselves; and without considering, or hearing what they had a mind to say for themselves, they were led into a Yard there by; where they found three Files of Musqueteers ready for their dispatch.

SIR *Bernard Gascoigne* was a Gentleman of *Florence*; and had serv'd the King in the War, and afterwards remain'd in *London* till the unhappy adventure of *Colchester*, and then accompanied his Friends thither; and had only *English* enough to make himself understood, that he desired a Pen and Ink and Paper, that he might write a Letter to his Prince the Great Duke, that his Highness might know in what manner he lost his Life, to the end his Heirs might possess his Estate. The Officer that attended the execution thought fit to acquaint the General and Council, without which he durst not allow him Pen and Ink, which he thought he might reasonably demand: When they were inform'd of it, they thought it a matter worthy some consideration; they had chosen him out of the List for his Quality, conceiving him to be an *English* Gentleman, and preferr'd him for being a Knight, that they might sacrifice three of that Rank.

THIS delay brought the News of this bloody resolution to the Prisoners in the Town; who were infinitely afflicted with it; and the Lord *Capel* prevailed with an Officer, or Soldier, of their Guard, to carry a Letter, sign'd by the chief Persons and Officers, and in the name of the rest, to the General; in which they took notice of that judgement, and desired him "either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, "who were equally guilty with those three, undergo the same "Sentence with Them. The Letter was deliver'd; but had no other effect than the sending to the Officer to dispatch his Order, reserving the *Italian* to the last. Sir *Charles Lucas* was their first work; who fell dead; upon which Sir *George Lisle* Sr Ch. Lucas and Sr George Lisle shot to death, ran to him, embraced him, and kissed him; and then stood up, and looked those who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they stood at too great a distance, spake to them to come nearer; to which one of them said, "I'll warrant you, "Sir, We'll hit you: he Answer'd smiling, "Friends, I have "been nearer you, when you have miss'd me. Thereupon, they all fired upon him, and did their work home, so that he

fell down dead of many wounds without speaking word. *Sr Bernard Gaisigne* had his Doublet off, and expected the next turn; but the Officer told him "he had order to carry him back to his Friends; which at that time was very indifferent to him. The Council of War had consider'd, that if they should in this manner have taken the Life of a Forreigner, who seem'd to be a Person of Quality, their Friends or Children who should visit *Italy*, might pay dear for many Generations; and therefore they commanded the Officer, "when the other "two should be dead, to carry him back again to the other "Prisoners.

Their Character.

THE two who were thus murder'd, were Men of great name and esteem in the War; the one being held as good a Commander of Horse, and the other of Foot, as the Nation had; but of very different tempers and humours. *Lucas* was the younger Brother of the Lord *Lucas*, and his Heir both to the Honour and Estate, and had a present Fortune of his own. He had been bred in the Low Countries under the Prince of *Orange*, and always amongst the Horse. He had little conversation in that Court, where great civility was practiced, and learned. He was very brave in his Person, and in a day of Battle a gallant Man to look upon, and follow; but at all other times and places, of a Nature scarce to be liv'd with, of no good understanding, of a rough and proud humour, and very morose conversation; yet they all desired to accompany him in his death. *Lisle* was a Gentleman who had had the same Education with the other, and at the same time an Officer of Foot; had all the Courage of the other, and led his Men to a Battle with such an Alacrity, that no Man was ever better followed; his Soldiers never forsaking him; and the party which he commanded, never left any thing undone which he led them upon. But then, to his fierceness of Courage he had the softest and most gentle nature imaginable; was kind to all, and belov'd of all, and without a Capacity to have an Enemy.

THE manner of taking the Lives of these worthy Men was new, and without Example, and concluded by most Men to be very barbarous; and was generally imputed to *Ireton*, who sway'd the General, and was upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody Nature. As soon as this bloody Sacrifice was ended, *Fairfax*, with the Chief Officers, went to the Town-House to visit the Prisoners; and the General (who was an ill Orator on the most plausible occasion) applied with his civility to the Earl of *Norwich*, and the Lord *Capel*; and, seeming in some degree to excuse the having done that, which he said "the Military justice required, he told them, "that all "the Lives of the rest were safe; and that they should be well "treated,

"treated, and disposed of as the Parliament should direct. The Lord *Capel* had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding, as to receive the visit of those who caused it, with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, "that they should do well to finish their work, and "execute the same rigour to the rest; upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between Him and *Ireton*, that cost him his Life in few Months after. When the General had given notice to the Parliament of his proceedings, he receiv'd order to send the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel* to *Windsor* Castle; where they had afterwards the Society of Duke *Hamilton*, to lament each others misfortunes; and after some time they two were sent to the Tower.

THOUGH the City had undergone so many severe Mortifications, that it might very well have been discouraged from entering into any more dangerous Engagements, at least all other People might have been terrified from depending again upon such Engagements, yet the present fright was no sooner over than they recover'd new spirits for new undertakings; and seem'd always to have observ'd somewhat in the last miscarriage which might be hereafter prevented, and no more obstruct their future proceedings; and many in the Parliament, as well as in the City, who were controlled and dispirited by the presence of the Army, when that was at a distance appear'd resolute, and brisk in any contradiction and opposition of their Counsels. So that *Cromwell* had no sooner begun his March towards the North, and *Fairfax* his into *Kent*, but the Common Council deliver'd a Petition to the Parliament, "that they would entertain a Personal Treaty with the King, that the Kingdom might be restored again to a happy Peace; "which could be hoped for no other way. This was the first presumption that had been offer'd, since their Vote of no more Addresses to be made to the King; which had been near half a year before; and this seem'd to be made with so universal a concurrence of the City, that the Parliament durst not give a positive refusal to it. And in truth the Major part thereof did really desire the same thing; which made *St Harry Vane*, and that Party in the Parliament to which the Army adher'd, or rather which adher'd to the Army, to contrive some specious way to defer and delay it by seeming to consent to it, rather than to oppose the motion. And therefore they appointed a Committee of the House of Commons, to meet with such a Committee of the Common Council, as they should make choice of, to confer together of the ways and means to provide for the King's safety and security during the time of the Treaty: which Committee being met together, that of the House of Commons perplexed the other with many

The behaviour of the City at this time.

That Petition for a personal Treaty.

viz. on Feb. 16. 1647. sent up to p. 92

A Committee of Parliament meets with them about

Questions, "what they meant by those Expressions, they used in their Petition (and had been the Common Expressions, long used both by the King and the Parliament, in all applications which had concern'd a Treaty) "that his Majesty might treat with honour, freedom, and safety? what they intended by those words? and whether the City would be at the Charge in maintaining those Guards, which were to be kept for the security of the King during such Treaty; "and if the King should in that Treaty refuse to give the Parliament satisfaction, how his Person should be disposed of? and many such Questions, to which they well knew that the Committee it self could make no Answer, but that there must be another Common Council called, to which they must repair for directions. And by this means, and administering new Questions at every meeting, much time was spent, and the delays they wished could not be avoided. So that notwithstanding all the City's earnestness that the Treaty might be presently enter'd upon, it was delayed till the Insurrection in Kent, and the designs of the Earl of Holland (to both which they had promised another kind of Assistance) were both disappointed, and expired. However, the Prince was still in the Downs with his Fleet, and the Gentlemen in Colchester defended themselves resolutely, and the Scotch Army was enter'd the Kingdom, all which kept up their Courage; inasmuch as, after all the delays, the Parliament consented, and declared, "that they would enter into a Personal Treaty with the King for the settling the Peace of the Kingdom; but "that the Treaty should be in the Isle of Wight, where his Majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety.

The Parliament declares for a personal Treaty.

THE City had offer'd before to the Committee upon some of the Questions which had been administer'd to them, "that "if the Treaty might be in London, they would be at the Charge of maintaining those Guards which should be necessary for the safety and security of the King; and therefore they were very much troubled, that the Treaty should be now in the Isle of Wight, upon which they could have no influence; yet they thought not fit to make any new Instances for change of the place, lest the Parliament might recede from their Vote, that there should be a Treaty enter'd upon.

A Committee of both Houses sent to the King for that purpose in the beginning of August. The substance of their Message to the King.

So they only renew'd their importunity, that all expedition might be used; and in spite of all delays, in the beginning of August a Committee was sent from both Houses to the King to Carisbrooke Castle, where he had been close shut up about half a year, without being suffer'd to speak with any but such who were appointed by them to attend, and watch him.

THE Message the Committee deliver'd was, "that the Houses did desire a Treaty with his Majesty, in what place of

“of the Isle of *Wight* he would appoint, upon the Proposi-
 “tions tender’d to him at *Hampton* Court, and such other Pro-
 “positions, as they should cause to be presented to him; and
 “that his Majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety to
 “his Person. The Messengers, who were one of the House
 of Peers and two Commoners, were to return within ten days,
 no body being very strict in the limitation of time to a day,
 because the Treaty was so much the longer kept off, which
 they hoped still would by some accident be prevented.

THE King receiv’d them very graciously, and told them,
 “they could not believe that any Man could desire a Peace
 “more heartily than Himself, because no Man suffer’d so much
 “by the want of it: that, though he was without any Man
 “to Consult with, and without a Secretary to write what he
 “should dictate, yet they should not be put to stay long for
 “an Answer; which he gave them within two or three days,
 all written in his own hand; in which, after he had lamented
 his present Condition, and the extreme restraint he was under,
 he said, “he did very chearfully embrace their motion, and *The King’s*
 “accepted a Treaty they promised should be with Honour, *Answer.*
 “Freedom, and Safety; which he hoped they did really in-
 “tend should be perform’d; for that, in the Condition he was
 “in, he was so totally ignorant, and uninform’d of the pre-
 “sent State of all his Dominions, that a blind Man was as fit
 “to judge of Colours, as He was to treat concerning the
 “Peace of the Kingdom, except they would first revoke their
 “Votes, and Orders, by which all Men were prohibited, and
 “forbid to come, write, or speak to him. For the place,
 “he could have wished, for the expedition that would have
 “resulted from thence, that it might have been in or near
 “*London*, to the end that the Parliament’s resolution and de-
 “termination might have been sooner known upon any emer-
 “gent occasion that might have grown in the Treaty, than it
 “could be at such a distance: however, since they had re-
 “solv’d that it should be in the Isle of *Wight*, he would not
 “except against it, but named the Town of *Newport* for the
 “place of the Treaty. He said, “though he desired all ex-
 “pedition might be used towards the beginning and ending
 “the Treaty, yet he should not think himself in any freedom
 “to Treat, except, before the Treaty begun, all such Persons
 “might have liberty to repair to him, whose advice and as-
 “sistance he should stand in need of in the Treaty. He sent
 a List of the Names of those his Servants which he desired
 might be admitted to come to him, and attend upon him;
 whereof the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the
 Earls of *Southampton*, and *Lindsey*, were the chief; all four
 Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, and of his Privy Council.

He named likewise all the other Servants, whose attendance he desired in their several Offices. He sent a List of the Names of several Bishops, and of such of his Chaplains, as he desired to confer with, and of many Common Lawyers, and some Civilians, whose advice he might have occasion to use, and desired, "that he might be in the same State of freedom, as he enjoyed whilst he had been at *Hampton Court*.

By the time that the Commissioners return'd from the Isle of *Wight*, and deliver'd this Answer to the Parliament, news was brought of the Defeat of the *Scottish* Army, and *Cromwell* had written to his Friends, "what a perpetual Ignominy it "would be to the Parliament, that no body abroad or at "home would ever give Credit to them, if they should recede "from their former Vote, and Declaration of no farther Addresses to the King, and Conjured them to continue firm in "that Resolution. But they had gone too far now to recede, and since the first Motion and Petition from the Common Council for a Treaty, very many Members, who had opposed the Vote and Declaration of no more Addresses, and from the time that had passed, had forborne ever to be present in the Parliament, upon the first mention of a Treaty, flocked again to the House, and advanced that Overture; so that they were much superior in Number to those who endeavour'd first to obstruct and delay, and now hoped absolutely to frustrate all that had been propos'd towards a Treaty. And the great Victory which had been obtain'd against the *Scots*, and which they concluded must speedily reduce *Colchester*, and put a quick period to all other attempts against the Parliament, made them more earnest and solicitous for a Treaty; which was all the hope left to prevent that Confusion they discern'd was the purpose of the Army to bring upon the Kingdom: And so with the more Vigour they press'd "that satisfaction might be given to the King, in all that he "had propos'd in his Answer; and, notwithstanding all opposition, it was declared, "that the Vote for no more Addresses should stand repealed: That the Treaty should be at "Newport; and that his Majesty should be there in the same freedom in which he was at *Hampton Court*; that the Instructions to Colonel *Mammond*, by which the King had "been in that manner restrain'd, and all Persons forbid from "going to him, should be recalled; that all those Persons "who were named by the King, should have free liberty to "repair to him, and to remain with him without being questioned, or troubled. And having proceeded thus far, they nominated five Lords, and ten Commoners to be the Commissioners who should Treat with the King, and who were enjoin'd

The Vote of
no more Ad-
dresses re-
pealed; and
the Treaty
to be at
Newport.

enjoy'd to prepare all things to be in a readiness for the Treaty with all possible expedition; but *St. Harry Vane*, being one of those Commissioners, used all his Arts to obstruct and delay it, in hope that *Cromwell* would dispatch his Affairs in *Scotland* time enough to return, and to use more effectual and powerful Arguments against it, than He was furnish'd withal.

ALL these occurrences were very well known to *Cromwell*, and were the motives which perswaded him to believe, that his presence at the Parliament was so necessary to suppress the Presbyterians, who ceased not to vex him at any distance, that he would not be prevailed with to stay and finish that only work of difficulty that remain'd to be done, which was the reducing *Pontfret* Castle; but left *Lambert* to make an end of it, and to revenge the death of *Rainsborough*, who had lost his Life by that Garrison, with some circumstances which deserve to be remember'd; as in truth all that Adventure in the taking, and defending that place, should be preserv'd by a very particular relation, for the honour of all the Persons who were engaged in it. *g. it was in 1702 in a little tract in a letter to Pontfret Castle an*

WHEN the first War had been brought to an end by the Reduction of all Places, and Persons, which had held for the King, and all Men's hopes had been render'd desperate, by the Imprisonment of his Majesty in the Isle of *Wight*, those Officers and Gentlemen who had serv'd, whilst there was any Service, betook themselves generally to the habitations they had in the several Counties; where they liv'd quietly and privately, under the Insolence of those Neighbours who had formerly, by the inferiority of their Conditions, submitted to them. When the Parliament had finished the War, they reduced and slighted most of the Inland Garrisons, the Maintenance whereof was very Chargeable: yet by the Interest of some Person who Commanded it, or out of the consideration of the strength and importance of the place, they kept still a Garrison in *Pontfret* Castle, a Noble Royalty and Palace belonging to the Crown, and then part of the Queen's Joynture. The Situation in it self was very strong; no part whereof was Commanded by any other ground: the House very large, with all Offices suitable to a Princely Seat, and though built very near the top of a Hill, so that it had the prospect of a great part of the West Riding of *Yorkshire*, and of *Lincolnshire*, and of *Nottinghamshire*, yet it was plentifully supplied with Water. Colonel *Cotterell*, the Governour of this Castle, exercised a very severe Jurisdiction over his Neighbours of those parts; which were inhabited by many Gentlemen, and Soldiers, who had serv'd the King throughout the War, and who were known to retain their old Affections, though they liv'd quietly under the present Government. Upon the least

An account of the taking of Pontfret Castle, how it was taken, &c. by General Fairbairn, who was surprised in his quarters at Doncaster, Oct. 29. 1648. written upon the occasion of Prince Eugene's surprising Mar. Villeroi at Gemona in a letter to a friend by Capt. John Paulden one of y^e Party concerned in y^e 78 year of his Age when as he thought he one of y^e Party concerned therein was alive, but his Acc^y differ in some particulars from his y^e 79. Close story.

Jealousy or Humour, these Men were frequently sent for, reproached, and sometimes Imprison'd by the Governour in this Garrison; which did not render them the more devoted to him. When there appeared some hopes that the *Scots* would raise an Army for the Relief and Release of the King, *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, in his way for *Scotland*, had visited and conferr'd with some of his old Friends and Country-men, who now liv'd quietly within some distance of *Pemfret*, who inform'd him of that Garrison, the place whereof was well known to him. And he acquainting them with the Assurance he had of the Resolution of the Principal Persons of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that they had invited him to joyn with them, in order to which he was then going thither, they agreed, "that, when it should appear that an Army was raised in *Scotland* upon that account, which must draw down the Parliament's Army into the other Northern Counties, and that there should be Risings in other parts of the Kingdom (which the general indisposition and discontent, besides some particular designs, made like to fall out) "that then those Gentlemen should endeavour the surprize of that Castle, and after they had made themselves strong in it, and furnished it with Provisions to endure some restraint, they should draw as good a Body to them as those Countries would yield: And having thus adjust'd that design, they settled such a way of Correspondence with *Sr Marmaduke*, that they frequently gave him an account, and receiv'd his directions for their proceeding. In this disposition they continued quiet, as they had always been; and the Governour of the Castle liv'd towards them with less Jealousy, and more Humanity, than he had been accusom'd to.

THERE was one Colonel *Merrits*, who being a very young Man, had, in the beginning of the War, been an Officer in some Regiments of the King's; and out of the folly and impatience of his Youth, had quitted that Service, and engaged himself in the Parliament Army with some circumstances not very commendable; and by the clearness of his Courage, and pleasantness of his Humour, made himself not only very acceptable, but was prefer'd to the Command of a Colonel, and perform'd many notable Services for them, being a stout and bold Undertaker in Attempts of the greatest Danger; wherein he had usually Succes. After the new Modelling of the Army, and the introducing of a stricter discipline, his Life of great Licence kept not his Reputation with the new Officers; and being a free Speaker and Censurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their compounding their new Army, but with many professions of kindness, and respect to his eminent Courage, which they would find
some

some occasion to Employ, and Reward. He was a Gentleman of a competent Estate in those parts in *York-shire*; and as he had grown Elder, he had heartily detested himself for having quitted the King's Service, and had resolv'd to take some seasonable opportunity to wipe off that blemish by a Service that would redeem him; and so was not troubled to be set aside by the new General, but betook himself to his Estate; enjoy'd his old Humour, which was chearful and pleasant; and made himself most acceptable to those who were most trusted by the Parliament; who thought that they had dismissed one of the best Officers they had, and were sorry for it.

He now, as a Country Gentleman, frequented the Fairs and Markets, and conversed with equal freedom with all his Neighbours, of what Party soever they had been, and renewed the Friendship he had formerly held with some of those Gentlemen who had serv'd the King. But no Friendship was so dear to him, as that of the Governour of *Pontfret* Castle, who lov'd him above all Men, and delighted so much in his Company, that he got him to be with him some times a week and more at a time in the Castle, when they always lay together in one Bed. He declared to one of those Gentlemen, who were united together to make that Attempt, "that he would surprise that Castle, whenever they should think the Season ripe for it; and that Gentleman, who knew him very well, believ'd him so entirely, that he told his Companions, "that they should not trouble themselves with contriving the means to surprise the place; which, by trusting too many, would be lyable to discovery; but that he would take that Charge upon himself, by a way they need not enquire into; which he assured them should not fail: And they all very willingly acquiesced in his undertaking; to which they knew well he was not inclined without good grounds. *Morrice* was more frequently with the Governour, who never thought himself well without him; and always told him "he must have a great care of his Garrison, that he had none but faithful Men in the Castle; for that he was confident there were some Men who liv'd not far off, and who many times came to visit him, had some design upon the place; and would then in confidence name many Persons to him, some whereof were those very Men with whom he communicated, and others were Men of another Temper, and were most devoted to the Parliament, all his particular Friends and Companions; "but that he should not be troubled; for he had a false Brother amongst them, from whom he was sure to have seasonable Advertisement; and promised him, "that he would, within few hours notice, bring him at any time forty or fifty good Men into the Castle to reinforce his Garrison,

"rifon, when there should be occasion; and he would shew him the list of such Men, as would be always ready, and would sometimes bring some of those Men with him, and tell the Governour before them, "that those were in the list he "had given him of the honest fellows, who would stick to "him when there should be need; and others would accidentally tell the Governour, "that they had listed themselves "with Colonel *Morrice* to come to the Castle, whenever he "should call or send to them. And all these Men thus listed, were fellows very notorious for the bitterness and malice which they had always against the King, not one of which he ever intended to make use of.

HE made himself very familiar with all the Soldiers in the Castle, and used to play and drink with them; and when he lay there, would often rise in the Night, and visit the Guards; and by that means would sometimes make the Governour dismiss, and discharge a Soldier whom he did not like, under pretence "that he found him always asleep, or some other fault which was not to be examin'd; and then he would commend some other to him as very fit to be trusted and relied upon; and by this means he had very much power in the Garrison. The Governour receiv'd several Letters from his Friends in the Parliament, and in the Country, "that he "should take care of Colonel *Morrice*, who resolv'd to betray "him; and inform'd him, "that he had been in such and "such Company of Men, who were generally esteem'd most "Malignant, and had great Intrigues with them; all which was well known to the Governour; for the other was never in any of that Company, though with all the shew of secrecy, in the Night, or in places remote from any House, but he always told the Governour of it, and of many particular passages in those Meetings; so that when these Letters came to him, he shew'd them still to the other; and then both of them laugh'd at the Intelligence; after which *Morrice* frequently called for his Horse, and went home to his House, telling his Friend "that though he had, he knew, no mistrust "of his Friendship, and knew him too well to think him capable of such baseness, yet he ought not for his own sake be "thought to slight the information; which would make his "Friends the less careful of him: that they had reason to give "him warning of those meetings, which, if he had not known "himself, had been very worthy of his suspicion; therefore "he would forbear coming to the Castle again, till this jealousy of his Friends should be over; who would know of "this, and be satisfied with it: and no power of the Governour could prevail with him, at such times, to stay; but he would be gone, and stay away till he was, after some time, sent

sent for again with great importunity, the Governour desiring his Council and Assistance as much as his Company.

It fell out, as it usually doth in Affairs of that nature, when many Men are engaged, that there is an impatience to execute what is projected before the time be thoroughly ripe. The business of the Fleet, and in *Kent*, and other places, and the daily Alarms from *Scotland*, as if that Army had been entering the Kingdom, made the Gentlemen who were engaged for this Enterprize, imagine that they deferr'd it too long, and that though they had receiv'd no Orders from *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*, which they were to expect, yet they had been sent, and miscarried. Hereupon they called upon the Gentleman who had undertaken, and He upon *Morrice*, for the Execution of the design. The time agreed upon was such a Night, when the Surprisers were to be ready upon such a part of the Wall, and to have Ladders to mount in two places, where two Soldiers were to be appointed for Sentinels who were privy to the attempt. *Morrice* was in the Castle, and in Bed with the Governour, and, according to his custom, rose about the hour he thought all would be ready. They without, made the Sign agreed upon, and were Answer'd by one of the Sentinels from the Wall; upon which they run to both places where they were to mount their Ladders. By some Accident, the other Sentinel who was design'd, was not upon the other part of the Wall; but when the Ladder was mounted there, the Sentinel called out; and finding that there were Men under the Wall, run towards the Court of Guard to call for help; which gave an Alarm to the Garrison: so that, for that time, the design was disappointed. But, shortly after, *Morrice*, and some of the same Gentlemen surpris'd the Castle, under the disguise of Country-men coming in with Carts of Provision; and presently seiz'd on and master'd the main Guard, and made way for their Friends, Horse and Foot, to enter. Then two or three of them went to the Governour's Chamber, whom they found in his Bed, and told him "the Castle was surpris'd, and himself a Prisoner. He betook himself to his Armes for his defence, but quickly found that his Friend had betray'd it, and the other Gentlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warn'd, his defence was to no purpose, yet he receiv'd some wounds. *Morrice* afterwards comforted him with assurance "of good usage, and that he would procure his Pardon from the King "for his Rebellion.

THEY put the Garrison in good order, and so many came to them from *Yorkshire*, *Nottingham*, and *Lincoln*, that they could not in a short time be restrain'd, and had leisure to fetch in all sorts of Provisions for their support, and to make

1. The Author of the Act. ment. in p 183 says. The Walls were to be seized but at one place.

2. Said down on his Bed in the Act above where there is a page particularly Acc. of the Satisfaction.

and renew such Fortifications as might be necessary for their defence. From *Nottingham* there came *Sr John Digby*, *Sr Hugh Cartwright*, and a Son and Nephew of his, who had been good Officers in the Army, with many Soldiers who had been under their Command; many other Gentlemen of the three Counties were present, and deserve to have their Names recorded, since it was an Action throughout of great Courage and Conduct.

CROMWELL's marching towards the *Scots* with the neglect of these Men after their first appearance, and only appointing some County Troops to inclose them from increasing their strength, gave them great opportunity to grow; so that driving those Troops to a greater distance, they drew Contribution from all the parts about them, and made Incursions much farther, and render'd themselves so terrible, that, as was said before, after the *Scotish* defeat, those of *Yorkshire* sent very earnestly to *Cromwell*, "that he would make it the business of his Army to reduce *Pontefract*. But he, resolving upon his *Scotish* Expedition, thought it enough to send *Rainsborough* to perform that Service, with a Regiment of Horse, and one or two of Foot, belonging to the Army; which, with a conjunction of the Country Forces under the same Command, he doubted not would be sufficient to perform a greater work. As soon as the Castle had been reduced, they who were possessed of it were very willing to be under the Command of *Morrice*; who declared he would not accept the Charge, nor be Governour of the place, knowing well what jealousies he might be liable to, at least upon any change of Fortune, but under the direction of *Sr John Digby*; who was Colonel General of those parts, and was a Man rather cordial in the Service, than equal to the Command; which made him refer all things still to the Counsel, and Conduct of those Officers who were under him; by whose activity, as much was done as could be expected from such a knot of resolute Persons.

Part of the
Garrison's
attempts upon
Rains-
borough.

THE total defeat of the *Scotish* Army being now generally known, and that their Friends in all other places were defeated, they in the Castle well knew what they were presently to expect, and that they should be shortly shut up from making farther excursions. They heard that *Rainsborough* was upon his march towards them, and had already sent some Troops to be Quarter'd near them, himself yet keeping his Head Quarters at *Doncaster*, ten Miles from the Castle. They resolv'd, whilst they yet enjoy'd this liberty, to make a noble attempt. They had been inform'd, that *Sr Marmaduke Langdale* (whom they still called their General) after the overthrow of the *Scotish* Army, had been taken Prisoner, and remained

mained in *Nottingham* Castle under a most strict custody, as a Man the Parliament declared, "they would make an example of their justice. A Party of about twenty Horse, but picked and choice Men, went out of the Castle, in the beginning of the Night, with a Resolution to take *Rainsborough* Prisoner, and thereby to ransom their General. They were all good Guides, and understood the ways, private and publick, very exactly ; and went so far, that about the break of day or a little after, in the end of *August*, they put themselves into the Common Road that led from *Tork* ; by which ways the Guards expected no Enemy ; and so slightly asked them " whence they came ? who negligently Answer'd ; and asked again, " where their General was ? saying, " they had a Letter " for him from *Cromwell* They sent one to shew them where the General was ; which they knew well enough ; and that he lay at the best Inn of the Town. And when the Gate of the Inn was opened to them, three of them only enter'd into the Inn, the other rode to the other end of the Town to the Bridge, over which they were to pass towards *Pontefret* ; where they expected, and did find a Guard of Horse and Foot, with whom they entertain'd themselves in discourse, saying " that " they stayed for their Officer, who went only in to speak " with the General ; and called for some drink. The Guards making no question of their being Friends, sent for drink, and talked negligently with them of News ; and, it being broad day, some of the Horse alighted, and the Foot went to the Court of Guard, conceiving that Morning's work to be over. They who went into the Inn, where no body was awake but the Fellow who opened the Gate, asked in which Chamber the General (for so all the Soldiers called *Rainsborough*) lay ; and the Fellow shewing them from below the Chamber door, two of them went up, and the other stayed below, and held the Horses, and talked with the Soldier who had walked with them from the Guard. The two who went up, open'd the Chamber door, found *Rainsborough* in his Bed, but awaked with the little noise they had made. They told him in short " that he was their Prisoner, and that it was in his power to " choose whether he would be presently killed (for which work he saw they were very well prepared) " or quietly, without making resistance, or delay, to put on his Cloaths and " be mounted upon a Horse, that was ready below for him, " and accompany them to *Pontefret*. The present danger awaken'd him out of the amazement he was in, so that he told them he would wait upon them, and made the haste that was necessary to put on his Cloaths. One of them took his Sword, and so they led him down stairs. He that held the Horses, had sent the Soldier away to those who were gone before

before, to speak to them to get some drink, and any thing else, that could be made ready in the House, against they came. When *Rainsborough* came into the Street, which he expected to find full of Horſe, and ſaw only one Man, who held the others Horſes, and preſently mounted that he might be bound behind him, he begun to ſtruggle, and to cry out. Whereupon, when they ſaw no hope of carrying him away, they immediately run him through with their Swords, and, leaving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their Horſes, and rode towards their Fellows, before any in the Inn could be ready to follow them. When thoſe at the Bridge ſaw their Companions coming, which was their ſign, being well prepared, and knowing what they were to do, they turn'd upon the Guard, and made them fly in diſtraction; ſo that the way was clear and free; and though they miſſed carrying home the prize for which they had made ſo luſty an adventure, they joyn'd together, and marched, with the Expedition that was neceſſary, a ſhorter way than they had come, to their Garriſon; leaving the Town and Soldiers behind in ſuch a conſternation, that, not being able to receive any information from their General, whom they found dead upon the ground without any Body in view, they thought the Devil had been there; and could not recollect themſelves, which way they were to purſue an Enemy they had not ſeen. The Gallant Party came ſafe home without the leaſt damage to Horſe or Man, hoping to make ſome other attempt more ſucceſſfully, by which they might redeem *Sr Marmaduke Langdale*. There was not an Officer in the Army whom *Cromwell* would not as willingly have loſt as this Man; who was bold and barbarous to his wiſh, and fit to be entruſted in the moſt deſperate Intereſt, and was the Man whom that Party always intended to commit the Maritime Affairs to, when it ſhould be time to diſmiſs the Earl of *Warwick*; he having been bred in that Element, and knowing the duty of it very well, though he had that miſfortune ſpoken of in the beginning of the Summer.

AND now to finiſh this buſineſs of *Pontfret* altogether, which laſted near to the end of this year, when *Lambert* came to this Charge (inſtructed by *Cromwell* to take full Vengeance for the loſs of *Rainsborough*, to whoſe Ghoſt he deſign'd an ample Sacrifice) and kept what Body of Men he thought fit for that purpoſe, he reduced them in a ſhort time within their own Circuit, making good Works round about the Caſtle, that they might at laſt yield to Hunger, if nothing elſe would reclaim them. Nor did they quietly ſuffer themſelves to be cooped up without bold and frequent Sallies, in which many of the Beſiegers, as well as the others, loſt their Lives. They
diſcover'd

discover'd many of the Country who held correspondence with, and gave Intelligence to the Castle, whom they apprehended, whereof there were two Divines, and some Women of Note, Friends and Allies to the besieged. After frequent Mortifications of this kind, and no human hope of Relief, they were content to offer to Treat for the Delivery of the Castle, if they might have honourable Conditions; if not, they sent word "that they had Provisions yet for a good time; that they durst die, and would sell their Lives at as dear a price as they could. *Lambert* Answer'd, that he knew they were gallant Men, and that he desir'd to preserve as many of them, as was in his power to do, but he must require six of them to be given up to him, whose Lives he could not save; which he was sorry for, since they were brave men; but his hands were bound. The six excepted by him were Colonel *Morrice*, and five more whose Names he found to have been amongst those who were in the Party that had destroy'd *Rainsborough*; which was an Enterprize no brave Enemy would have revenged in that manner: nor did *Lambert* desire it, but *Cromwell* had enjoin'd it him: all the rest he "was content to release, that they might return to their Homes, and apply themselves to the Parliament for their Compositions, towards which he would do them all the good Offices he could. They from within acknowledg'd his Civility in that particular, and would be glad to embrace it, but they would never be guilty of so base a thing, as to deliver up any of their Companions; and therefore they desir'd "they might have six days allow'd them, that those six might do the best they could to deliver themselves; in which it should be lawful for the rest to assist them; to which *Lambert* generously consented, "so that the rest would Surrender at the end of that time; which was agreed to. Upon the first day the Garrison appear'd twice or thrice, as if they were resolv'd to make a Sally, but retired every time without Charging; but the second day they made a very strong and brisk Sally upon another place than where they had appear'd the day before, and beat the Enemy from their Post, with the loss of Men on both sides; and though the Party of the Castle was beaten back, two of the six (whereof *Morrice* was one) made their escape, the other four being forced to retire with the rest. And all was quiet for two whole days; but in the beginning of the Night of the fourth day, they made another attempt so prosperously, that two of the other four likewise escaped: and the next day they made great shews of joy, and sent *Lambert* word, "that their six Friends were gone (though there were two still remaining) and therefore they would be ready the next day to Surrender.

THE

Pontfret delivered up to Lambert.

THE other two thought it to no purpose to make another attempt, but devised another way to secure themselves, with a less dangerous Assistance from their Friends, who had lost some of their own lives in the two former Sallies to save theirs. The buildings of the Castle were very large and spacious, and there were great store of waist Stones from some Walls, which were fallen down. They found a convenient place, which was like to be least visited, where they walled up their two Friends in such a manner that they had Air to sustain them, and Victual enough to feed them a Month, in which time they hoped they might be able to escape. And this being done, at the hour appointed they open'd their Ports, and after Lambert had caused a strict inquiry to be made for those six, none of which he did believe had in truth escaped, and was satisfied that none of them were amongst those who were come out, he receiv'd the rest very Civilly, and observ'd his promise made to them very punctually, and did not seem sorry that the six Gallant Men (as he called them) were escaped.

AND now they heard, which very much reliev'd their broken Spirits, that Sr Marmaduke Langdale had made an escape out of the Castle of Nottingham; who shortly after Transported himself beyond the Seas. Lambert presently took care so to dismantle the Castle, that there should be no more use of it for a Garrison, leaving the vast ruins still standing; and then drew off all his Troops to new Quarters; so that, within ten days after the Surrender, the two who were left walled up, threw down their inclosure, and securely provided for themselves. Sr John Digby liv'd many years after the King's Return, and was often with his Majesty. Poor Morrice was afterwards taken in Lancashire, and happen'd to be put to death in the same place where he had committed a fault against the King, and where he first perform'd a great Service to the Parliament.

The Condition of the Prince and the Duke of York at the Hague, and the factions among their Followers.

IN this desperate Condition, that is before described, stood the King's Affairs when the Prince was at the Hague, his Fleet already mutinying for Pay, his own Family factious and in necessity, and that of his Brother the Duke of York full of Intrigues, and Designs, between the restless unquiet Spirit of Bamfield, and the Ambitious and as unquiet Humour of Sr John Berkley. The Council, which was not numerous (for the Prince had not Authority to add any to those who were his Father's Counsellors) wanted not Unity in it self, so much as submission and respect from others, which had been lost to those who were in the Fleet, and the prejudice to those still remain'd, and so abated much of the reverence which most Men were willing to pay to the two who came last. And the

the great Animosity which Prince *Rupert* had against the Lord *Colepepper* infinitely disturbed the Counsels, and perplexed the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had credit enough with the other two. But *Colepepper* had some Passions and Infirmities, which no Friends could restrain; and though Prince *Rupert* was very well inclined to the Chancellor, and would in many things be advised by him, yet his prejudice to *Colepepper* was so rooted in him, and that prejudice so industriously cultivated by *Herbert* the Attorney General, who had the absolute Ascendant over that Prince, and who did perfectly hate all the World that would not be govern'd by him, that every meeting in Council was full of bitterness and sharpness between them.

ONE day the Council met (as it used to do when they did not attend the Prince of *Wales* at his Lodgings) at the Lord Treasurer's Lodging (He and the Chancellor of the Exchequer being in one House) about giving direction for the sale of some Goods which had been taken at Sea, for the raising of Money toward the payment of the Fleet. In such services Merchants, and other proper Persons, were always necessary to be trusted. Prince *Rupert* propos'd "that one *Sr Robert Walsh* (a Person too well known to be trusted) might be employ'd in that Affair: it was to sell a Ship of Sugar. No Man who was present would ever have consented that he should have been employ'd; but the Lord *Colepepper* spoke against him with some warmth, so that it might be thought to reflect a little upon Prince *Rupert*, who had propos'd him. Upon which, He asking "what exceptions there were to *Sr Robert Walsh*, why he might not be fit for it, *Colepepper* Answer'd with some quickness, "that he was a known cheat; which, though notoriously true, the Prince seem'd to take very ill; and said, "he was his Friend, and a Gentleman; "and if he should come to hear of what had been said, he "knew not how the Lord *Colepepper* could avoid Fighting "with him. *Colepepper*, whose Courage no Man doubted, presently replied, "that he would not Fight with *Walsh*, but "he would Fight with his Highness; to which the Prince Answer'd very quietly, "that it was well; and the Council rose in great perplexity.

PRINCE *Rupert* went out of the House, and the Chancellor led the Lord *Colepepper* into the Garden, hoping that he should so far have prevail'd with him, as to have made him sensible of the excess he had committed, and to have persuaded him presently to repair to the Prince, and to ask his Pardon, that no more notice might be taken of it. But he was yet too warm to conceive he had committed any fault, but seem'd to think only of making good what he had so im-

prudently said. Prince *Rupert* quickly inform'd his Confident the Attorney General of all that had pass'd ; who was the unfittest Man living to be trusted with such a secret, having always about him store of Oyl to throw upon such Fire. He soon found means to make it known to the Prince, who presently sent for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be inform'd of the whole matter ; and when he understood it, was exceedingly troubled, and required him " to let *Colepepper* know, " that he ought to make a submission to Prince *Rupert* ; with-
"out which worse would fall out.

He went first to Prince *Rupert*, that he might pacify him till he could convince the other of his fault ; and he so far prevail'd with his Highness, who would have been more Cholerick if he had had less Right of his side, that he was willing to receive a submission ; and promised " that the other should "receive no affront in the mean time. But he found more difficulty on the other side, the Lord *Colepepper*, continuing still in rage, thought the provocation was so great, that he ought to be excused for the Reply, and that the Prince ought to acknowledge the one as well as He the other. But after some days recollection, finding no Body with whom he conversed of his mind, and understanding how much the Prince was displeased, and that he expected he should ask Prince *Rupert* Pardon, and withal reflecting upon the place he was in, where he could expect no security from his Quality and Function, he resolv'd to do what he ought to have done at first ; and so he went with the Chancellor to Prince *Rupert's* Lodging ; where he behaved himself very well ; and the Prince receiv'd him with all the Grace could be expected ; so that so ill a business seem'd to be as well concluded as the nature of it would admit. But the worst was to come : the Attorney General had done all he could to dissuade that Prince from accepting so small, and so private a satisfaction ; but, not prevailing, he inflamed *Sr Robert Wallb*, who had been inform'd of all that had pass'd at the Council concerning himself, to take his own revenge ; in which many Men thought, that he was assured Prince *Rupert* would not be offended. And the next Morning after his Highness had receiv'd satisfaction, as the Lord *Colepepper* was walking to the Council without a Sword, *Wallb*, coming to him, seem'd quietly to expostulate with him, for having mention'd him so unkindly. To the which the other Answer'd, " that he would give him satisfaction in any way he would require ; though he ought not "to be call'd in question for any thing he had said in that "place. On a suddain, whilst they were in this calm discourse, *Wallb* struck him with all his force one blow in the Face with his Fist ; and then stepped back, and drew his
2 Sword ;

Sword; but seeing the other had none, walked away; and the Lord *Colepepper*, with his Nose and Face all bloody, went back to his Chamber, from whence he could not go abroad in many days by the effect and disfiguring of the blow. This outrage was committed about ten of the Clock in the Morning in the fight of the Town; which troubled the Prince exceedingly; who immediately sent to the States to demand Justice; and they, according to their method and flow proceedings in matters which they do not take to heart, caused *Walsh* to be Summon'd, and after so many days, for want of Appearance, he was by the found of a Bell publicly banished from the *Hague*; and so he made his residence in *Amsterdam*, or what other place he pleased. And this was the reparation the States gave the Prince for so Ruffianly a transgression; and both the beginning and the end of this unhappy business exposed the Prince himself, as well as his Council, to more disadvantage, and less reverence, than ought to have been paid to either.

THE improvidence that had been used in the Fleet, besides its unactivity, by the dismissing so many great Prizes, was now too apparent, when there was neither Money to pay the Sea-men, who were not modest in requiring it, nor to new Victual the Ships, which was as important; since it was easy to be foreseen, that they could not remain long in the Station where they were for the present, and the extreme licence which all Men took to censure and reproach that improvidence, disturbed all Counsels, and made Conversation it self very uneasy. Nor was it possible to suppress that Licence; every Man believing that his particular necessities, with which all Men abounded, might easily have been reliev'd, and provided for, if it had not been for that ill husbandry; which they therefore called Treachery and Corruption. It cannot be denied but there was so great a Treasure taken, which turn'd to no account, and so much more might have been taken, if the several Ships had been applied to that end, that a full provision might have been made, both for the support of the Fleet, and supply of the Prince, and of all who depended upon him for a good time, if the same had been well managed; and could have been deposited in some secure place, till all might have been sold at good Markets. And no body was satisfied with the Reasons which were given for the discharging, and dismissing so many Ships to gratify the City of *London*, and the Presbyterian Party throughout the Kingdom. For, besides that the value of what was so given away and lost, was generally believ'd to be worth more than all they would have done, if they had been able, those Bounties were not the natural motives which were to be applied to that People;

*2. B. M. Richard has in his
of 7 Reign of K. Cha. 1.
Ch. 11 Sect. VII Par 3 give
Large Act. of Walsh's Be
brought after the 15 of
entering into a Conspir
to betray K. Cha.
to 7 Hands of
well in a very
treachery man
in 7 Year. 1657.*

ple; whose Affections had been long dead, and could be revived by nothing but their sharp sufferings, and their insupportable losses; the obstruction and destruction of their Trade, and the seizing upon their Estates, being, at that time, thought by many the most proper Application to the City of *London*, and the best Arguments to make them in love with Peace, and to extort it from them in whose power it was to give it. And if the Fleet had applied it self to that, and visited all those Maritime Parts which were in Counties well affected, and where some places had declared for the King (as *Scarborough* in *York-shire* did) if it had not been possible to have set the King at liberty in the Isle of *Wight*, or to have reliev'd *Colchester*, (both which many Men believ'd, how unskilfully soever, to be practicable) it would have spent the time much more advantageously and honourably than it did.

BUT let the ill consequence be never so great, if it had proceeded from any corruption, it would probably have been discover'd by the examination and inquisition that was made; and therefore it may be well concluded that there was none. And the truth is, the Queen was so fully possess'd of the purpose and the power of the *Scots* to do the King's business, before the Insurrections in the several parts in *England*, and the revolt of the Fleet appear'd, that she did not enough weigh the good use that might have been made of those when they did happen, but kept her mind then so fixed upon *Scotland*, as the sole foundation of the King's hopes, that she looked upon the benefit of the Fleet's returning to their Allegiance, only as an opportunity offer'd by Providence to Transport the Prince with security thither. And her Instructions to those she trusted about the Prince, were so positive, "that they should not give consent to any thing that might divert or delay that Expedition, that, if the Earl of *Lauterdale* had been arriv'd when the Prince came to the Fleet, it would have been immediately engaged to have Transported the Prince into *Scotland*, what other conveniences soever, preferable to that, had offer'd themselves. And the very next day after that Lord's coming to the Prince in the *Doums*, his injunctions and behaviour were so imperious for the Prince's present departure, that nothing but a direct Mutiny among the Sea-men prevented it. His Highness's own Ship was under Sail for *Holland*, that he might from thence have prosecuted his other Voyage: nor would he at that time have taken *Holland* in his way, if there had been any quantity of Provision in the Fleet for such a Peregrination. This Expedition for *Scotland* was the more grievous to all Men, because it was evident that the Prince himself was much more inclined to have pursued other occasions which were offer'd, and only resign'd himself implicitly to the pleasure of his Mother.

THE

THE present ill Condition of the Fleet, and the unsteady Humour of the Common Sea-men was the more notorious, and unseasonable, by the Earl of *Warwick's* coming with another Fleet from the Parliament upon the Coast of *Holland*, within few days after the Prince came to the *Hague*, and Anchoring within view of the King's Fleet. And it is probable he would have made some Hostile Attempt upon it, well knowing that many Officers and Sea-men were on Shore, if the States had not in the very Instant, sent some of their Ships of War to preserve the Peace in Their Port. However, according to the Infolence of his Masters, and of most of those employ'd by them, the Earl sent a Summons of a strange Nature to the King's Ships, in which he took notice, "that a Fleet of Ships, which were part of the Navy Royal of the Kingdom of *England*, was then Riding at Anchor off *Helvoet Sluce*, and bearing a Standard: That he did therefore, by the Parliament's Authority, by which he was constituted Lord High Admiral of *England*, require the Admiral, or Commander in chief of that Fleet, to take down the Standard; and the Captains, and Mariners belonging to the Ships, to render themselves and the Ships to him, as High Admiral of *England*, and for the use of the King and Parliament: And he did, by the like Authority, offer an indemnity to all those who should submit to him.

The Earl of Warwick with his Fleet comes upon the Coast of Holland.

AFTER which Summons, though receiv'd by the Lord *Willoughby*, who remain'd on Board the Fleet in the Command of Vice-Admiral, with that indignation that was due to it, and though it made no impression upon the Officers, nor visibly, at that time, upon the Common Men, yet, during the time the Earl continued in so near a Neighbourhood, he did find means by private Insinuations, and by sending many of his Sea-men on Shore at *Helvoet Sluce* (where they enter'd into Conversation with their old Companions) so to work upon and corrupt many of the Sea-men, that it afterwards appear'd many were debauched; some whereof went on Board his Ships, others stay'd to do more mischief. But that ill Neighbourhood continued not long; for the Season of the Year, and the Winds which usually rage on that Coast in the Month of *September*, removed him from that Station, and carried him back to the *Downs* to attend new Orders.

ALL these disturbances were attended with a worse, which fell out at the same time, and that was the sickness of the Prince; who, after some days indisposition, appear'd to have the small Pox; which almost distracted all who were about him, who knew how much depended upon his precious Life: And therefore the consternation was very universal whilst that was thought in danger. But, by the goodness and mercy

The Prince of Wales has the small Pox.

of God, he recover'd in few days the peril of that distemper; and, within a Month, was restored to so perfect Health, that he was able to take an account himself of his Melancholick and perplexed Affairs.

THERE were two points which were chiefly to be consider'd, and provided for by the Prince; neither of which would bear delay for the consultation, and resolution; the first, how to make provision to Pay, and Victual the Fleet, and to compose the Mutinous Spirits of the Sea-men; who paid no reverence to their Officers, insomuch as, in the short stay which the Earl of *Warwick* had made before *Helvoet Sluce*, as hath been said, many of the Sea-men had gone over to him, and the *Constant Warwick*, a Frigate of the best Account, had either voluntarily left the Prince's Fleet, or suffer'd it self willingly to be taken, and carried away with the rest into *England*. The other was, what he should do with the Fleet, when it was both Pay'd and Victualled.

TOWARDS the first, there were some Ships brought in with the Fleet, laden with several Merchandize of value, that, if they could be sold for the true worth, would amount to a Sum sufficient to pay the Sea-men their Wages, and to put in Provisions enough to serve four Months; and there were many Merchants from *London*, who were desirous to buy their own Goods, which had been taken from them; and others had Commissions from thence to buy the rest. But then they all knew, that they could not be carried to any other Market, but must be sold in the place where they were; and therefore they were resolv'd to have very good Penny-worths. And there were many Debts claim'd, which the Prince had promised, whilst he was in the River, should be paid out of the first Money that should be rais'd upon the Sale of such and such Ships: particularly, the Prince believ'd that the Countess of *Carlisle*, who had committed faults enough to the King and Queen, and pawn'd her Necklace of Pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which she had totally disbursed in supplying Officers, and making other Provisions for the Expedition of the Earl of *Holland* (which Sum of fifteen hundred pounds the Prince had promised the Lord *Piercy* his Brother, who was a very importunate Solicitor) should be paid upon the Sale of a Ship that was laden with Sugar, and was then conceiv'd to be worth above six or seven thousand pounds. Others had the like Engagements upon other Ships: so that when Money was to be rais'd upon the Sale of Merchandize, they who had such Engagements, would be themselves entrusted, or nominate those who should be, to make the bargain with Purchasers, to the end that they might be sure to receive what they claim'd, out of the first Monies that should be

be raised. By this means, double the value was deliver'd, to satisfy a debt that was not above the half.

BUT that which was worse than all this, the Prince of *Orange* advertised the Prince, that some Questions had been started in the States, "what they should do, if the Parliament of *England* (which had now a very dreadful name) should send over to them to demand the restitution of those Merchants Goods, which had been unjustly taken in the *Downs*, and in the River of *Thames*, and had been brought into their Ports, and were offer'd to Sale there, against the obligation of that Amity which had been observ'd between the two Nations, during the late War? What Answer they should be able to make, or how they could refuse to permit the owners of those Goods to make their Arrests, and to sue in their Admiralty for the same? Which first Process would stop the present Sale of whatever others pretended a Title to, till the right should be determin'd. The Prince of *Orange* said, "that such Questions used not to be started there without design; and therefore advised the Prince "to lose no time in making compleat Sales of all that was to be sold; "to the end that they who were engaged in the Purchase, "might likewise be engaged in the Defence of it. Upon this Ground, as well as the others which have been mention'd, hasty bargains were made with all who desired to buy, and who would not buy except they were sure to be good Gainers by all the bargains which they made. Nor could this be prevented by the caution or wisdom of any who were upon the place, with no more Authority than they had. Mr *Long*, who was Secretary to the Prince, had been possessed of the Office of receiving and paying all Monies, whilst the Prince was in the Fleet, and so could not well be removed from it when he came into *Holland*: though he was thought to love Money too well, yet no body who lov'd it less, would at that time have submitted to the employment, which expos'd him to the importunity and insolence of all necessitous Persons, when he could satisfy none; yet he liked it well with all its prejudice, and disadvantage.

AS SOON as the Money was raised, it was sent to the Fleet to pay the Sea-men; and the Prince made a Journey to the Fleet to see, and keep up the Spirits of the Sea-men, who were very Mutinous, not without the infusions of some who did not desire they should be too well pleased with their Officers. The Lord *Willoughby* stay'd on Board purely out of Duty to the King, though he liked neither the place he had, nor the People over whom he was to Command, who had yet more respect for Him than for any Body else. Sir *William Batten* likewise remain'd with them, not knowing well how

to refuse it, though he had too much reason to be weary of his Province, the Sea-men having contracted an implacable jealousy and malice against him, more than they were naturally inclined to. And the truth is, though there was not any evidence that he had any foul practices, he had an impatient desire to make his Peace, and to live in his own Country, as afterwards he did with the leave of the King; against whom he never after took imployment.

THE other point to be resolv'd was yet more difficult, "what should be done with the Fleet, and who should Command it? and though the Advertisement the Prince of *Orange* had given his Royal Highness, of the Question started in the States, concern'd only the Merchants Ships, which were made Prize, yet it was very easy to discern the Logick of that Question would extend as well, and be applied to those of the Royal Navy, as to Merchants Ships. And it was evident enough, that the United Provinces would not take upon them to determine whether they were in truth the Ships of the King, or of the Parliament. And it was only the differences which were yet kept up in the Houses, which kept them from being United in that demand. So that the Prince knew that nothing was more necessary than that they should be gone out of the Ports of those Provinces, and that the States wish'd it exceedingly.

WHILST *Bamfield* was about the Person of the Duke of *York*, he had infused into him a marvellous desire to be possessed of the Government of the Fleet: but the Duke was convinced with much ado, that it was neither safe for his Highness, nor for his Father's Service, that he should be embarked in it: and *Bamfield*, by an especial Command from the King, who had discover'd more of his foul practices than could be known to the Prince, was not suffer'd to come any more near the Person of the Duke. So he return'd into *England*; where he was never called in question for stealing the Duke away. From this time the Duke, who was not yet above fifteen years of Age, was so far from desiring to be with the Fleet, that, when there was once a Proposition, upon occasion of a suddain Mutiny amongst the Sea-men, "that he should go to *Helvoet Sluce*, to appear amongst them, who professed great Duty to his Highness, he was so offended at it that he would not hear of it; and he had still some Servant about him who took pains to persuade him, "that the Council had inclined the Prince to that designation, out of ill will to his Highness, and that the Ships might deliver him up to the Parliament. So unpleasant, and uncomfortable a Province had those Persons, who, being of the King's Council, serv'd both with great Fidelity; every Body who was unsatisfied

satisfied (and no Body was satisfied) aspersing them, or some of them (for their prejudice was not equal to them all) in such a manner as touch'd the honour of the rest, and most reflected upon the King's own Honour, and Service.

PRINCE *Rupert* had a long desire to have that Command of the Fleet put into his hands; and that desire, though carried with all secrecy, had been the cause of so many Intrigues, either to inflame the Sea-men, or to cherish their froward inclinations, and encrease the prejudice they had to *Batten*. The Attorney mention'd this to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, shortly after his coming to the *Hague*, as a thing, he thought, that Prince might be induced to accept out of his Zeal to the King's Service, if he were invited to it; and thereupon was willing to debate, to what Person the Government of the Fleet could be committed, when it should set Sail from that Port, and whither it should go. The Chancellor made no other Answer to him, than "that it was like "to be a charge of much danger, and hazard; that he must "not believe that any Body would propose the undertaking it "to Prince *Rupert*, or that the Prince would Command him "to undertake it; and that he thought it necessary, that it "should be first resolv'd, what the Fleet should do, and whil- "it should go, before a Commander should be appointed "over it.

WHEN the Marquis of *Ormond* had waited so many The Affairs of the Marquis of Ormond and the Lord Inchiquin in Ireland. Months at *Paris* for the Performance of those gaudy promises which the Cardinal had made, after he saw in what manner the Prince of *Wales* himself was treated by him, and that he would not suffer the least assistance to be applied to the Affairs of *England*, in a conjuncture when very little would probably have done the work, upon the Revolt of the Fleet, upon so powerful Insurrections in *England*, and possessing so many places of importance on the King's behalf, and when the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* seem'd so united for his Majesty's Service, and an Army of thirty thousand Men were said to be even ready to march; I say, after he discern'd that the Cardinal was so far from giving any countenance, or warmth to their blooming hopes, that he left nothing undone towards the destroying them, but the Imprisoning the Prince; he concluded that it was in vain for him to expect any relief for *Ireland*. And therefore he resolv'd, though he had neither Men, nor Money, nor Armes, nor Ammunition, all which had been very liberally promised to transport with him, he would yet transport his own Person, to what evident danger soever he was to expose it. Upon the full assurance the Cardinal had given him of very substantial aid, he had assured the Lord *Inchiquin*, "that he would be present with him with "notable

"notable supply of Money, Armes, and Ammunition, and "good Officers, and some common Men (which were all in readines, if the Money had been paid to entertain them) and had likewise sent to many, who had formerly serv'd the King, and liv'd now quietly in the Enemies Quarters, upon the Articles which had been formerly granted the Marquis of Ormond, "that they should expect his speedy arrival.

AND though he had, from time to time, sent Advertisements of the delays and obstructions he met with in the *French* Court, so that he did almost despair of any Assistance from it, yet the Lord *Inchiquin* had advanced too far to retire; and the Lord *Lisle*, who had been sufficiently provoked, and contemned by him, was gone into *England* with full malice, and such information (which was not hard for him to be furnish'd with) as would put *Cromwell* and the Army into such fury, that his Friends in the Parliament, who had hitherto sustain'd his Credit, would be very hardly able to support him longer. So that, as he was to expect a storm from thence, so he had a very sharp War to maintain against the *Irish*, led and commanded by the Pope's Nuntio; which War had been always carried on in *Munster* with wonderful animosity, and with some circumstances of bloodiness, especially against Priests, and others of the Roman Clergy, that it was very hard to hope that those People would live well together. And indeed the *Irish* were near rooted out of the Province of *Munster*, though they were powerful enough, and strong in all the other Provinces. Hereupon the Lord *Inchiquin*, with all possible earnestness, writ to the Lord of Ormond, "that, "though without any other Assistance, he would transport his "own Person: by whose Countenance and Authority he presumed the *Irish* might be divided, and brought to reason; and desired him, "in the mean time, to send to such of the "*Irish* as had dependence upon him, and who, he knew, in "their Hearts did not wish well to the Nuntio, that they "would secretly correspond with Him, and dispose their "Friends and Dependents to concur in what might advance "the King's Service; to which they did not know that he was "inclined, but look'd upon him, as the same malicious and "irreconcilable Enemy to them, as he had always appear'd to "be to their Religion, more than to their Persons.

*An Account
of the Af-
fairs of the
Irish about
this time.*

FROM the time that the *Irish* enter'd into that bloody, and foolish Rebellion, they had very different Affections, Intentions, and Designs, which were every day improv'd in the carrying on the War. That part of them which inhabited the *Pale*, so called from a circuit of ground contain'd in it, was originally of *English* Extraction, since the first Plantations by the *English* many Ages past. And though they were de- generated

generated into the manners and barbarous Customs of the *Irish*, and were as stupidly transported with the highest Superstition of the Romish Religion, yet they had always steadily adher'd to the Crown, and perform'd the duty of good Subjects during all those Rebellions which the whole Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* was seldom without. And of that temper most of the Province of *Leinster* was: *Munster* was the most planted with *English* of all the Provinces of *Ireland*, and though there were many Noble Men of that Province who were of the oldest *Irish* Extractions, and of those Families which had been Kings of *Munster*, yet many of them had intermarried with the best *English* Families, and so were better bred, and more civilized than the rest of the old *Irish*, and liv'd regularly in Obedience to the Government, and by connivance enjoy'd the exercise of their Religion, in which they were very zealous, with freedom and liberty enough.

THE Seat of the old *Irish*, who retain'd the Rites, Customs, Manners, and Ignorance of their Ancestors, without any kind of reformation in either, was the Province of *Ulster*; not the better cultivated by the Neighbourhood of the *Scots*, who were planted upon them in great Numbers, with circumstances of great Rigour. Here the Rebellion was first contriv'd, cherish'd, and enter'd upon with that horrid Barbarity, by the *O Neils*, the *Macguyres*, and the *Macmahoons*; and though it quickly spread it self, and was entertain'd in the other Provinces (many Persons of Honour and Quality engaging themselves by degrees in it for their own security, as they pretended, to preserve themselves from the undistinguishing severity of the Lords Justices, who denounced the War against all *Irish* equally, if not against all Roman Catholics; which kind of mixture and confusion was carefully declin'd in all the orders and directions sent to them out of *England*, but so unskillfully pursued by the Justices, and Council there, that as they found themselves without any employment or trust, to which they had chearfully offer'd their Service, they concluded, that the *English Irish* were as much in the jealousy of the State as the other, and so resolv'd to prevent the danger by as unwarrantable Courses as the rest had done) yet, I say, they were no sooner enter'd into the War, which was so generally embraced, but there appear'd a very great difference in the temper and purposes of those who prosecuted it. They of the more moderate Party, and whose main end was to obtain liberty for the exercise of their Religion, without any thought of declining their subjection to the King, or of invading his Prerogative, put themselves under the Command of General *Preston*: the other, of the fiercer and more savage Party, and who never meant to return to their

The Characters of Rebellion and O Neile their chief Generals.

their Obedience of the Crown of *England*, and looked upon all the Estates which had ever been in the possession of any of their Ancestors, though forfeited by their Treason and Rebellion, as justly due to them, and ravish'd from them by the Tyranny of the Crown, march'd under the Conduct of *Owen Roe O Neile*; both Generals of the *Irish* Nation; the one descended of *English* Extraction through many descents; the other purely *Irish*, and of the Family of *Tyrone*; both bred in the Wars of *Flanders*, and both Eminent Commanders there, and of perpetual jealousy of each other: the one of the more frank and open Nature; the other darker, less polite, and the wiser Man; but both of them then in the head of more numerous Armies apart, than all the King's power could bring into the Field against either of them.

THIS disparity in the Temper and Humour of those People, first dispos'd those of the most moderate to desire a Peace shortly after the Rebellion was begun, and produced the Cessation that was first enter'd into, and the Peace, which did not soon enough ensue upon it; and which, upon the matter, did provide only for the exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion; but did that in so immoderate and extravagant a manner, as made it obnoxious to all the Protestants of the King's Dominions.

The Pope's Nuntio commands the Irish.

OWEN *Roe O Neile* refused to submit to the Conditions, and Articles of that Peace, though transacted and confirm'd by their Catholick Council at *Kilkenny*, which was the Representative of the *Irish* Nation had chosen for the Conduct of all the Counsels for Peace and War, and to which they all avowed, and had hitherto paid an entire Obedience. The Pope's Nuntio, who about that time came from *Rome*, and Transported himself into that Kingdom, applied himself to *Owen O Neil*, and took that Party into his Protection; and so wrought upon their Clergy, generally, that he broke that Peace, and prosecuted those who had made it, with those circumstances which have been before remember'd, and which necessitated the Lord Lieutenant to quit the Kingdom, and to leave the City of *Dublin* in the hands of the Parliament; the Lord *Inchiquin* having likewise refused to consent, and submit to that Peace, and continued to make the War sharply and successfully against the *Irish* in the Province of *Munster*; whereof he was President. But the Nuntio was no sooner invested in the supreme Command of that Nation both by Sea and Land, as over a People subject to the Pope, and of a Dominion belonging to Him, than, being a Man of a fantastical Humour, and of an imperious and proud Nature, he behaved himself so insolently towards all (and having brought no Assistance to them but the Pope's Bulls, endeavour'd by new

new exactions to enrich himself) that even the Men of *Ulster* were weary of him; and they who had been the Instruments of the former Peace, were not wanting to foment those jealousies, and discontents, which had produced that application to the Queen and Prince at *St. Germain's*, and the Resolution of sending the Marquis of *Ormond* thither again, both which have been related before. And the Marquis now having given the Lord *Muskerry* (who had Married his Sister, and was the most powerful Person, and of the greatest Interest in *Munster* of all the *Irisb*) and other of his Friends notice that the Lord *Inchiquin* would serve the King, and therefore required them to hold secret correspondence with him, and to concur with him in what he should desire for the advancement of his Service, they found means to hold such intercourse with him, that, before the Marquis of *Ormond* arriv'd there, against all the opposition the Nuntio could make, a Cessation of Arms was concluded between the Confederate Catholics and the Lord *Inchiquin*; and the Nuntio was driven into *Waterford*; and, upon the matter, Besieged there by the Catholick *Irisb*; and the Marquis arriving at the same time at *Kinsale*, and being receiv'd by the Lord *Inchiquin* with all imaginable duty as the King's Lieutenant, the forlorn and contemned Nuntio found it necessary to Transport himself into *Italy*, leaving the Kingdom of *Ireland* under an Excommunication, and Interdict, as an Apostate Nation; and all the Province of *Munster* (in which there are many excellent Ports) became immediately and entirely under the King's Obedience. All which being well known to the Prince, and the Council, it was easily concluded, "that it was the best, if not the only place the Fleet could repair too; though the danger in Conducting it thither was visible enough; and therefore they were glad that Prince *Rupert* had made that advance towards the Command of it, and well satisfied with the wariness of the Answer the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave to the Attorney *Herbert*.

THERE was in truth no Body in view to whom the Charge of the Fleet could be committed but Prince *Rupert*: for it was well known that the Lord *Willoughby*, besides his being without much Experience of the Sea, was weary of it, and would by no means continue there; and the Sea-men were too much broke loose from all kind of Order, to be reduced by a Commander of an Ordinary Rank. It was as true, that Prince *Rupert*, at that time, was generally very ungracious in *England*, having the misfortune not to be much belov'd by the King's Party, and hated by the Parliament. This was an exception that was foreseen: there was no other choice of a place to which the Fleet must be carried, but *Munster*; and the pas-

sage thither could not but be full of danger, in respect that the Parliament was without question Master of the Sea (although the Island of *Silly* being then under the King's Authority, and *Sr John Greenvil* being the Governour thereof, made that passage something the more secure) therefore this purpose was to be concealed as the last secret; there being great danger that the Sea-men would rather carry all the Ships back again to the Parliament, than into *Ireland*; against which People they had made a War at Sea with circumstances very barbarous, for they had seldom given any Quarter, but the *Irish*, as well Merchants and Passengers, as Mariners, which fell into their Hands, as hath been said before, were bound back to back and thrown into the Sea; so that they could have no inclination to go into a Country whose People had been handled so cruelly by them.

Prince Rupert undertakes the Command of the Prince's Fleet.

HERE again appear'd another objection against the Person of Prince *Rupert*, who would never endure to be subject to the Command of the Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom: and yet it seem'd most reasonable that the Ships, whilst they stay'd there, might be employ'd towards the reducing of the other parts, which were in Rebellion: Besides that there was cause to fear, that the Prince would not live with that Amity towards the Marquis of *Ormond*, as was necessary for the Publick Service. Notwithstanding all this; when the little Stratagem of having Prince *Rupert* desired to take the Command of the Fleet upon him did not succeed, Prince *Rupert* himself made the Proposition to the Prince to take the Command of it upon him, and to carry it whither his Royal Highness would be pleased to direct. And then, the whole matter being debated, necessity made that to be Counsellable, against which very many reasonable objections might be made. So it was resolv'd that Prince *Rupert* should be Admiral of that Fleet, and that it should Sail for *Ireland*. And the Charge, and Expedition appear'd to be the more hopeful by the presence of good Officers, who had long Commanded in the Royal Navy: *Sr Thomas Kettleby*, whom the Prince made Captain of his own Ship the *Antelope*; *Sr John Memmes*, who had the Command of the *Swallow*, a Ship of which he had been Captain many years before; and Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was made Captain of the *Constant Reformation*; all worthy and faithful Men to the King's Service, of long Experience in the Service at Sea, and well known and lov'd by the Sea-men. With these Officers, and some other Gentlemen, who were willing to spend their time in that Service, Prince *Rupert* went to *Helvoet Sluce*, where the Ships lay, and seem'd to be receiv'd by the Fleet with great joy. They all bestir'd themselves in their several places to get the Ships ready

ready for Sea, and all those Provisions which were necessary, in making whereof there had not diligence enough been used.

WHEN they took a strict Survey of the Ships, the Carpenters were all of opinion, "that the *Convertine*, a Ship of the second Rank, that carried seventy Guns, was too old and decay'd to be now set out in a Winter Voyage, and in so rough Seas, and that when a great deal of Money should be laid out to mend her, she would not be serviceable or safe. And it did appear, that when the Officers of the Navy had fitted her out at the beginning of the Summer, they had declared, "that, when she came in again, she would not be fit for more use, but must be lay'd upon the Stocks. Whereupon the Ship was brought into *Helvoet Sluce*, upon the next Spring Tyde, and examined by the best *Dutch* Carpenters and Surveyors; and all being of the same mind, information was sent by Prince *Rupert* to the Prince of the whole, who thereupon gave direction for the Sale of the Ordnance, and whatsoever else would yield Money: all which was applied to the Victualling, and setting out the rest, without which no means could have been found to have done it; so much ill husbandry had been used, and so much direct cheating in the managing all the Money that had been raised upon the Prizes.

PRINCE *Rupert* remain'd all the time at *Helvoet Sluce*, till all was ready to set Sail, and had, with notable Vigour and Success, suppress'd two or three Mutinies, in one of which he had been compell'd to throw two or three Sea-men over-board by the strength of his own Armes. All subordinate Officers were appointed, Commissioners for the Sale of all Prize Goods, and Ships that should be taken, Treasurers and Pay-masters for issuing and paying and receiving all Monies; and an establishment for the whole too regular and strict to be observ'd: and though all Persons employ'd were well known, and approv'd by Prince *Rupert*, and most of them nominated by himself, yet he thought it fit after to change that Constitution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts, and issues under his own Management, and sole Government. When all was ready he came to the *Hague*, to take leave of the Prince, and return'd, and about the beginning of December he set Sail for *Ireland*, met with good Prizes in the way, and arriv'd safely at *Kinsale*: nor had he been long gone out of *Holland*, when the Prince had a throwd Evidence how unsecure a long abode would have been there, by some Parliament Ships coming into that Road, and sending their Men on Shore, who at noon day burnt the *Convertine* within the very Town of *Helvoet Sluce*, nor did the States make any expostulation, or do any justice for the Affront offer'd to themselves, and their Government.

IN

The Commissioners arrive in the Isle of Wight, Sept. 15.

IN this calamitous State of Affairs there seem'd to be no hope left, but that by Treaty the King might yet be restored to such a condition, that there might be those Roots left in the Crown, from whence its former Power, and Prerogative might sprout out hereafter, and flourish. The Commissioners for the Treaty arriv'd in the Isle of *Wight* upon the fifteenth day of *September*, whilst *Cromwell* yet remain'd in his Northern Progress, and his Army divided into several parts for the finishing his Conquest; which was the reason that all they who wish'd ill to the Treaty, and that it might prove ineffectual, had us'd and interpos'd all the delays they could, that he might return before it begun, as they who wish'd it might succeed well, were as solicitous, that it might be concluded before that time; which made them the less to insist upon many particulars both in the Propositions, and the Instructions, which they hop'd might be more capable of remedies in the Treaty than before it.

THEY stay'd three days in the Island before the Treaty begun, which was time little enough to prepare the House for the King's reception at *Newport*, and adjusting many circumstances of the Treaty. In that time they wait'd several times on the King, with great shew of outward duty and respect; and though none of them durst adventure to see the King in private, they Communicated freely with some of those Lords, and others, who, with the Parliament's leave, were come to attend the King during the time of the Treaty. And so they found means to advertise his Majesty of many particulars, which they thought necessary for him to know; which made different impressions upon him, as the information proceeded from Persons better or worse affected to him. And many of those who had liberty to attend, were competent Considerers of the truth of what they said.

THE truth is there were amongst the Commissioners many who had been carried with the violence of the stream, and would be glad of those concessions which the King would very cheerfully have granted; an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion being what they were principally concern'd in. And of all the rest, who were more passionate for the Militia, and against the Church, there was no Man, except *St. Harry Vane*, who did not desire that a Peace might be established by that Treaty. For as all the other Lords desired, in their own Natures and Affections, no more than that their Transgressions might never more be called to remembrance; so the Lord *Say* himself (who was as proud of his Quality, and of being distinguished from other Men by his Title, as any Man alive) well foresaw what would become of his Peerage, if the Treaty proved ineffectual, and the Army should make their own model

model of the Government they would submit to (as undoubtedly they resolv'd shortly to do) and therefore he did all he could to work upon the King to yield to what was proposed to him, and, afterwards, upon the Parliament, to be content with what his Majesty had yielded. But the advice they all gave, of what inclinations or affections soever they were, was the same, "that his Majesty should, forthwith, and without delaying it to the expiration of the Term assign'd by the Parliament for the Treaty (which was forty days) "yield "to the full demands which were made in the Propositions. Their only Argument was, "that, if he did not, or not do it quickly, the Army would proceed their own way, and had "enough declared, that they would depose the King, change "the Government, and settle a Republick by their own Rules "and Invention. And this Advertisement was as well believ'd by those of the King's own Party, as by the Commissioners themselves.

BEFORE the Treaty begun, the Commissioners made it known to the King, "that they could not admit that any "Person should be present in the Room where the Treaty "should be in Debate: that they were Commissioners sent "from the Parliament to treat with his Majesty, and with him "alone; and that they might not permit any particular and "private Persons to oppose, or confer with them upon the demands of the Parliament. So that albeit the Parliament had given leave to the several Bishops, and other Divines, and to many Lawyers of eminency to wait on his Majesty, upon his desire, that they might instruct and inform him in all difficult cases which related to Religion or the Law of the Land, they were like to be of little use to him now they were come, if they might not be present at the Debate, and offer such advice to his Majesty, as upon emergent occasions he should stand in need of, or require from them. At last they were contented, and his Majesty was obliged to be contented too, that they might stand behind a Curtain, and hear all that was said, and when any such difficulty occur'd as would require consultation, his Majesty might retire to his Chamber, and call those to him, with whom he would advise, to attend him, and might then return again into the Room for the Treaty, and declare his own Resolution. This was the unequal and unreasonable preliminary and condition, to which the King was compelled to submit before the Treaty could begin.

THEY who had not seen the King in a Years time (for it was little less from the time that he had left *Hampton Court*) found his Countenance extremely alter'd. From the time that his own Servants had been taken from him, he would

never suffer his hair to be cut, nor cared to have any new Cloaths; so that his aspect and appearance was very different from what it had used to be: otherwise, his health was good, and he was much more chearful in his discourses towards all Men than could have been imagined, after such mortification of all kinds. He was not at all dejected in his Spirits, but carried himself with the same Majesty he had used to do. His hair was all gray, which, making all others very sad, made it thought that he had sorrow in his countenance, which appear'd only by that shadow.

UPON Monday the 18th of September, the Treaty begun, and the Commissioners presented their Commission to his Majesty, to treat with him Personally, upon the Propositions presented formerly at Hampton Court, concerning the Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland* only, and upon such Propositions as should be offer'd either by his Majesty, or the two Houses of Parliament, according to their Instructions &c. Though the King knew very well, that *Cromwell* had so totally subdued *Scotland*, that he had not left any Man there in the least Authority or Power, who did so much as pretend to wish well to him, and that, in truth, *Cromwell* had as much the Command there as *Argyle* himself had, who was but his Creature, yet either to recover their broken Spirits, or to manifest his own Royal Compassion for them, he told the Commissioners, that, when the Propositions had been deliver'd to him at Hampton Court, the *Scotish* Interest was so involved in them, that it could be hardly separable from that of *England*: that it concern'd him, as King of both Kingdoms, to be just and equal between both; and that though they had no Authority to treat for any thing but what related to *England*, yet He, who was to provide for the publick Peace (which could hardly be provided for, except the *Scots* were comprehended in this Treaty) did desire, that they would send to the two Houses of Parliament, to give a Pass for one of his Servants to go into *Scotland*, to invite the Council there to send some body authorized by that Kingdom, who might treat with the Commissioners of Parliament: and to that purpose his Majesty deliver'd them a Paper in writing to be sent by them to the Parliament, telling them at the same time, that it was never his desire or meaning, that they should meddle in the Government of *England*, but only should treat concerning the Peace, to the end that that might be durable. But the Commissioners alledged, that it was not in Their power to receive and transmit that, or any other Paper, to the Parliament, that refer'd to that Kingdom; and they besought him to give them leave, as an evidence of their Duty, to inform him of what ill consequence

“quence the transmission of that Paper at that time might be to the Treaty it self. Whereupon he declined sending it by a Messenger of his own for the present (which he intended to have done) being unwilling to give any occasion of dispute or jealousy so early, and believing that after he should have gotten a good understanding with the two Houses, in what was of immediate concernment to *England*, he should more effectually transmit that, or any other Paper, for the more easy composing the affairs of *Scotland*.

THEN they presented their first Proposition to his Majesty; “that he would revoke all Declarations, and Commissions granted heretofore by him against the Parliament. ^{The first Proposition for revoking all his Majesty's Declarations} Whereupon his Majesty desired, “that he might see all the Propositions, they had to make to him, together; that he might the better consider what satisfaction he could give them upon the whole: which they would not yield to without much importunity, and at last deliver'd them with reluctance, as a thing they were not sure they ought to do. And though their Commission refer'd to Instructions, and his Majesty desired that he might have a view of those, they peremptorily refused to let him have a sight of them; and only told him; “that they were directed by their Instructions, first to treat upon the Proposition they had already presented to him, concerning the revocation of the Declarations &c. and in the next place, of the Church, then of the Militia, and fourthly of *Ireland*, and afterwards of the rest of the Propositions in order; and they declared likewise that, by their Instructions, they were not to enter upon any new Propositions, before they should have receiv'd his Majesty's final Answer to what was first proposed.

HEREUPON the King demanded of them, “whether they had power and authority to recede from any particular contained in their Propositions, or to consent to any alterations, if his Majesty should give them good reason so to do? To which they Answer'd very Magisterially, “that they were ready to Debate, to shew how reasonable their desires were, and that there could be no reason why they should alter or recede from them; but if his Majesty did satisfy them, they should do therein as they were warranted by their Instructions. These limitations and restrictions in a matter of that importance, which contain'd a new frame of Government, and an alteration of all Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, almost damped and stifled all the hope his Majesty had entertain'd of good from this Treaty. However, he resolv'd to try if consenting to the substantial part of any Proposition would give them satisfaction; and so, without taking notice of the Preamble of that Proposition, which they had deliver'd to him,

His Majesty's he declared in writing, which he deliver'd to them, "that he
Answer is "was willing to grant the Body of their Proposition, that was
it. "to recal all Declarations &c. But they immediately return'd
 another Paper to him, in which they said, "his Majesty had
 "left unanswer'd the most essential part of their Proposition,
 "repeating the words in the Preamble, which recited, "that
 "the two Houses of Parliament had been necessitated to enter
 "into a War in their just and lawful defence; and that the
 "Kingdom of *England* had enter'd into a solemn League and
 "Covenant to prosecute the same; and so justifying all that
 had been done &c. To all which they very vehemently
 pressed "his Majesty's approbation and consent, as the most
 "necessary foundation of a lasting Peace, and the indispens-
 "able expectation of the two Houses and of the whole King-
 "dom; and that the two Houses, and the Kingdom, could
 "not decline this particular demand, without which they
 "could not believe themselves to be in any security; since,
 "by the Letter of the Law, they who had adhered to the Par-
 "liament, might seem guilty of raising War against the
 "King, and so to be guilty of High Treason by the Statute
 "of the 25th year of King *Edward* the third: whereas by the
 "construction and Equity thereof they were justified; and
 "therefore that the consenting to this Preamble was so essen-
 "tial, that without it the Parliament would be thought gail-
 "ty; which they hoped his Majesty did not desire it should.
 And that this might make the deeper impression upon him,
 the Lord *Say*, in the Debate of it, twice repeated, with more
 passion than was natural to his Constitution, "that he did
 "tremble to think how sad the consequence would be, if what
 "they now pressed should be denied. And others said, that
 "it was no more than his Majesty had heretofore granted in
 "the Act of Indemnity that he had passed in *Scotland*; and if
 "he should now refuse to do it in *England*, there would be a
 "speedy end put to the Treaty, without entering upon any
 "of the other Propositions. The King was so much per-
 "plexed, and offended with this haughty way of reasoning, that
 he told those with whom he consulted, and writ the same to
 the Prince his Son, "that the long restraint he had endured
 "in the Castle of *Carisbrooke*, was not a greater evidence of
 "the Captivity of his Person, nor was he more sensible of it,
 "than this was of the Captivity of his Mind, by his being
 "forced to decline those Answers and Arguments which
 "were proper to the support of his Cause, and which must
 "have brought blushes over the Faces of the Commissioners,
 "and to frame others more seasonable and fit to be offer'd to
 "Men in that condition from him who was to receive, and
 "not give conditions.

HOWEVER,

HOWEVER, this Proposition was of so horrid and monstrous a Nature, so contrary to the known truth, and so destructive to Justice and Government, that it seem'd to naturalize Rebellion, and to make it current in the Kingdom to all Posterity, that his Majesty could not forbear to tell them, "that no Act of Parliament could make that to be true which was notoriously known to be false; that this Treaty must be the foundation of the future Peace and Security, and what was herein provided for both could never be call'd in question; that he was most willing, that it should be made very penal to every Man to reproach another for any thing he had done during the late Troubles, upon what Provocation soever. He put them in mind, "that it was well known to some of them, that the Act of Indemnity in Scotland was pass'd when his Majesty was not there, nor any Commissioner appointed by him; that it was prepared, and drawn by his Attorney General of that Kingdom, who was then of the Party that was against his Majesty; and therefore it was no wonder that he call'd those of his own side, Loyal Subjects, and good Christians, in the Preamble of that Act; which was never seen by his Majesty, though it was confirm'd indeed, with the other Acts which had pass'd in that disorderly time, by his Majesty upon the conclusion of the Peace, and their return to their Obedience; and that, when that should be the case here, he would give them all the appellations they should desire, and as unquestionable security as they could wish. To all which they made no other reply, and that unanimously, "but that they could not believe themselves secure, if that Preamble was not entirely consented to.

THIS refractory obstinate adherence of the Commissioners to their own Will, without any shadow of reason, prevailed nothing upon the King; inasmuch as he was inclin'd to run the hazard of the present dissolution of the Treaty, and to undergo all the inconveniencies and mischiefs which probably might attend it, rather than to sacrifice his Honour, and the Justice of his Cause, to their insolent demand, until he had enter'd into a serious deliberation with those Persons who were about him, of whose affections to him he had all assurance, and of the great abilities, and understanding of most of them he had a very just esteem. They all represented to him, from the Conference they had with such of the Commissioners, who, they were confident, spoke to them as they thought and believ'd, "that if there were no expedient found out to give more satisfaction upon this first Proposition, than his Majesty had yet offer'd, as soon as the Commissioners should give account of it to the two Houses, they

"would be presently recall'd; and the Treaty be at an end:
 "And then it would be universally declared and believ'd, how
 "untrue soever the assertion was, that the King refused to secure the Parliament, and all who had adher'd to them, from
 "a Prosecution by Law; upon which they thought it to no
 "purpose to proceed farther in the Treaty: whereas if his
 "Majesty had condescended to them in that particular, which
 "concern'd the Lives and Fortunes of their whole Party in
 "the Kingdom, they would have given him such satisfaction
 "in all other particulars, as a full and happy Peace must have
 "ensued.

THEN the Lawyers inform'd him, "that his giving way
 "to a recital in a new Law, which was not a Declaratory
 "Law of what the Law was formerly in being, concerning
 "the business in question, and only in a Preamble to a Law
 "for recalling Declarations &c. did not make their Actions
 "lawful, if they were not so before; nor did it take away
 "from those who had adher'd to him, any defence or benefit
 "the former Laws had given to them; nor would his Party
 "be in a worse condition than they had always been: for his
 "Majesty had always offer'd, in all his Declarations, that they
 "who follow'd him, and who were by them called Delinquents,
 "should, at all times, submit to a Trial by the Laws
 "of the Land, and if they should be found guilty of any
 "Crime, they should not be protected by him. And it was
 "evident, by their not prosecuting any one, since they were
 "fallen into their hands, in any legal way, that they do not
 "think their Transgressions can be punish'd by Law.

UPON these reasons, and the joynt advice and importunity of all about him, as well the Divines as the Lawyers, the King first deliver'd a Paper in writing to the Commissioners, in which he declar'd, "that nothing that should be put
 "in writing concerning any Proposition, or part of any Proposition, should be binding, prejudicial, or made use of, if
 "the Treaty should break off without effect: And the Commissioners presented another Paper in writing, in which they fully consented to that Declaration, in the very terms of the said Declaration. Thereupon the King consented to pass the first Proposition, with the Preamble to it, albeit, he said,
 "that he well foresaw the aspersions it would expose him to;
 "yet he hoped his good Subjects would confess that it was
 "but a part of the price he had paid for their benefit, and
 "the Peace of his Dominions.

*The King
consents
to it.*

*The second
Proposition
concerning
Religion and
the Church.*

THE first Proposition being thus consented to as they could with, they deliver'd their second concerning Religion and the Church; which comprehended, "the utter abolishing
 "Epicopacy, and all jurisdiction exercised by Arch-Bishops,
 Bishops,

"Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and alienating their Lands, which should be sold to the use and benefit of the Commonwealth; the Covenant; which was presented to his Majesty to take himself, and to impose upon all others: The Common-Prayer, and publick Liturgy of the Church, to be abolish'd, and taken away; and that the Reformation of Religion, according to the Covenant, in such manner as both Houses had, or should agree, after consultation with Divines, should be settled by Act of Parliament: which, the King told them, "exceeded the Implicit Faith of the Church of Rome; which rather obliges her Proselytes to what she Does hold; than to what she Shall. It required "the establishing the Presbyterian Government, the Directory, the Articles of Christian Religion (a Body whereof they presented) "the suppressing Innovations in Churches; for the better advancement of Preaching, the observation of the Lord's day; a Bill against Pluralities and Non-residency; several Acts against Papists; and the taking and imposing the Covenant.

THIS pregnant Proposition, containing so many monstrous particulars, sufficiently warn'd his Majesty, how impossible it would be to give them satisfaction in all; and therefore having, by consenting to the entire first Proposition, put it out of their power to break off the Treaty, and to tell the People, that the King, at the entrance into it, had denied to give them any security for their Lives and Fortunes, he thought it now fit to offer to the Commissioners a Proposition of his own, that both the Parliament, and the People, might clearly discern how much of his own Right and Dignity he would sacrifice for their Peace; and which, he thought, might prevent the designs of those who might endeavour, upon one single Proposition, or part of a Proposition, to break the Treaty.

The King offers a Proposition of his own; which the Commissioners refuse to send to the Houses.

HIS own Proposition contained, in very few words, but three particulars: 1. "That he might enjoy his Liberty: 2. That his Revenue might be restored to him: 3. That "an Act of Oblivion might pass: Which, he very well knew, would be most grateful to those who seem'd to value it least, as it would exempt his own Friends from any illegal, and unjust vexations.

THE Commissioners absolutely refused to send it to the Houses, though they had no Authority to Answer it themselves. They said, "it rather contain'd an Answer to all their Propositions, than was a single Proposition of his own; and "that the sole end of making it, was to cajole the People; which, the King told them, "better became Him to do than

"any Body else. But when they peremptorily refused to trans-

*The King
sends it by
Messengers
of his own;
but it is
voiced unfa-
vourably.*

mit it to the Houses, the King sent an Express of his own to deliver it; which being done, after some days deliberation, the Houses return no other Answer to the King, "than that his Proposition was not satisfactory. In the mean time the Commissioners press'd for his Answer to the first part of their Proposition, for the abolishing of Bishops. It would be very tedious and unnecessary to set down at large the Dispute, and Arguments which were used on both sides upon this Subject. The Commissioners, who would not suffer any of the King's Servants to be so much as present when any thing of the Treaty was agitated, thought fit now to let loose their own Clergy upon the King; who was much better versed in the Argument than they were.

*Their Mini-
sters dispute
with the
King about
the Bishops.*

THAT which they urged most, was the common Allegations "that Bishop and Presbyter in the Scripture Language "signified one and the same thing: That, if the Apostles ex- "ercised a larger Jurisdiction, it had been granted to them as "Apostles, and concern'd not their Successors, to whom no "such Authority had been granted, nor any Superiority over "other Presbyters, who were of the same Function with them. Then they inveigh'd vehemently against "Lords Bishops; "their Pride, and Lustre; and they all behaved themselves with that rudeness, as if they meant to be no longer subject to a King, no more than to a Bishop. And two of them very plainly and fiercely told the King, "that if he did not consent "to the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, he would be damn'd; with which his Majesty was not mov'd. The Men, *Jenkins* and *Spurflow*, liv'd after the return of King *Charles* the Second, and, according to the modesty of that race of People, came to kiss his Majesty's hand, and continued the same Zeal in all Seditious Attempts.

THE King press'd them with those Texts of Scripture which have been constantly urged by those who maintain the *Jus Divinum* of Bishops, the Authority of the Fathers, and the Government of all Christian Churches for fifteen hundred years, and particularly of the Church of *England*, before and since the Reformation, by constant and uniform practice and usage; which could not but be by themselves acknowledged to have been by Bishops. The Commissioners reliev'd their ill manner'd Clergy, and urged, "that whatsoever was not of "Divine Institution might very lawfully be alier'd; for if it "had its Original from Men, it might by Men be changed, or "reversed: That Episcopacy as it was establish'd in the Church "by the Laws of *England*, was not that Episcopacy that was "mention'd or prescribed in Scripture; and therefore the "Laws, which supported it, might be justly taken away; "which, they said, was the reason that had induced many

"Men

"Men, who were not Enemies to Episcopacy, to take the Covenantant; which obliged them to take the present Hierarchy away."

IN a word they urged, "the practice of other Reform'd Churches, and that his Majesty insisting upon the preservation of Episcopacy, as essentially necessary, was to reproach and condemn Them. To which he Answer'd, "that both Calvin and Beza, and most Learned Men of the Reform'd Churches, had approv'd, and commended the Episcopal Government in England; and many of them had bewail'd themselves, that they were not permitted to retain that Government."

BESIDES all their Arguments in publick, which his Majesty with wonderful acuteness fully Answer'd, and deliver'd his Answers in writing to them (which none of them ever after undertook to reply unto) they found means in private to advertise the King, that is, such of them who were known to wish well to him, "that they were of his Majesty's judgement with reference to the Government, which they hoped might yet be preserv'd, but not by the method his Majesty pursued: that all the reasonable hope of preserving the Crown, was in dividing the Parliament from the Army; which could be only done by his giving satisfaction in what was demanded with reference to the Church; which would unite the Parliament in it self, some few Persons excepted, and the City to the Parliament; where the Presbyterians were most powerful; and this being done, the Parliament would immediately have power to reform their Army; and to disband those who would not be reform'd: That then the King would be remov'd to London, to perfect that by his own presence in Parliament, which should be prepared by this Treaty; and then the wording those Bills, and the formality of passing them, would give opportunity for many alterations; which, being now attempted, would destroy all, and reconcile the Parliament to the Army; which would destroy the King: But then, what the King urged as matter of Conscience in himself would find respect, reverence, and concurrence. No doubt they who did make these Insinuations, did in truth believe themselves; and did think, as well as wish, that the sequel would be such as they foretold. But that which had more Authority with the King, and which no body about him could put him in mind of, because none of them had been privy to it, was the remembrance of what he had promised concerning the Church to the Scots, in the Engagement at the Isle of Wight; which he could not but conclude was well known to many of the Presbyterians in England: and he thought, that whatever he had promised

The King's
Concessions
on this point.

promised to do then, upon the bare hope and probability of raising an Army, he might reasonably now offer when that Army was destroy'd, and no hope left of raising another. And thereupon he did, with much reluctancy, offer the same he had then promised to do; which was, "to suspend Episcopacy for three years, and then upon consultation with Divines, amongst which he would nominate twenty to be present, and to consult with them, such a Government of the Church as should be agreed upon might be established: That he would not force any Man to take the Covenant, and would have the Privilege of his own Chapel to use the Common-Prayer, and observe the same Worship he had used to do; and that all Persons, who desired it, might have liberty to take the Covenant, and to use the Directory; in fine, he consented to all that he had offer'd in that Engagement with reference to the Government of the Church; and likewise, "that Money should be raised upon the sale of the Church Lands, and only the old Rent should be reserv'd to the just owners and their Successors. These, with some other Concessions of less importance, which related to other Branches of the same Proposition, *magna inter suspiria*, he deliver'd to the Commissioners as his final Answer; which the Major part of them, did then believe would have preserv'd his Majesty from farther importunity and vexation in that particular.

The third
Proposition
concerning
the Militia.

THE next Proposition was concerning the Militia; which was their Darling; and distinguished the *Scots* from the *English* Presbyterians; the former never desiring to invade that unquestionable Prerogative of the Crown; the latter being in truth as fond of it (and as refractory without it) as of Presbytery it self; and in that particular concurr'd even with *Cromwell*, and made little doubt of subduing him by it in a short time. In this demand they exercis'd their usual modesty, and to abridge the substance of it in few words, they required "a power to keep up the present Army, and to raise what other Armies they pleas'd for the future; which gave them "Authority over the Persons of all Subjects, of what degree or quality soever. Secondly, a power to raise Money for "the use and maintenance of those Forces, in such a manner, "and by such ways and means, as they should think fit. And hereby they had had the disposal of the Estates and Fortunes of all Men without restraint, or limitation. Thirdly, "all Forces by Land and Sea to be managed, and disposed as "They should think fit, and not otherwise. All this modest Power and Authority "must be granted to the Lords and Commons for twenty years. And, as if this had not been enough, they required farther, "that in all Cases, when the "Lords

"Lords and Commons shall declare the Safety of the Kingdom to be concern'd; unless the King give his Royal Assent to such a Bill as shall be tender'd to him for raising Money, the Bill shall have the force of an Act of Parliament, as if he had given his Royal Assent.

THERE were other particulars included, of power to the City of *London* over the Militia, and for the Tower of *London*, of no importance to the King, if he once disposed, and granted the other as was required; nor need he take care to whom the rest belonged. Here the King was to consider whether he would wholly grant it, or wholly deny it, or whether he might reasonably hope so to limit it, that They might have Authority enough to please them, and He reserve some to himself for his own security. The King had thought with himself, upon revolving all Expedients, which he had too long warning to ruminate upon, to propose "that the Inhabitants of every County should be the standing Militia of the Kingdom, to be drawn out of the Counties upon any occasions which should occur; which would prevent all excessive Taxes and Impositions, when they were to be paid by themselves. But he quickly discern'd that such a Proposition would be presently called a Conspiracy against the Army, and so put an end to all other Expedients. Then he thought of limiting the extravagant Power in such a manner, that it might not appear so monstrous to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and therefore proposed, "that none should be compelled to serve in the War against their Wills, but in case of an Invasion by Foreign Enemies: That the Power concerning the Land Forces should be exercised to no other purposes, than for the suppressing of Forces which might at any time be raised without the Authority and Consent of the Lords and Commons, and for the keeping up, and maintaining the Forts and Garrisons, and the present Army, so long as it should be thought fit by both Houses of Parliament: That what Monies should at any time be thought necessary to be raised, should be raised by general and equal Taxes, and Impositions; and lastly, that all Patents and Commissions to the purposes aforesaid might be made in the King's Name, by Warrant signified by the Lords and Commons, or such other signification as they should direct, and authorize.

THESE Limitations were sent to the Parliament, who, according to the method they had assumed, soon Voted "that the Message was unsatisfactory. Hereupon, that he might at least leave some Monument and Record of his care and tenderness of his People (for after his extorted Concessions to the so great prejudice of the Church, he never consider'd what might

The King's Answer.

This Voted by the Parliament unsatisfactory.

*The King
consents to
it with a
Preamble.*

might be dangerous to his own Person) he deliver'd his consent to the Proposition it self to the Commissioners, with a Preamble to this purpose; "that whereas their Proposition concerning the Militia, requir'd a far larger power over the Persons and Estates of his Subjects, than had been ever hitherto warranted by the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, yet in regard the present distractions might require more, and trusting in his two Houses of Parliament, that they would make no farther use of the power therein mention'd, after the present distempers should be settled, than should be agreeable to the legal Exercise thereof in times past, and for the purposes particularly mention'd in their Proposition, and to give satisfaction to his two Houses of Parliament that he intends a full security to them, and to express his real desires to settle the Peace of the Kingdom; his Majesty doth consent to the Proposition concerning the Militia as it was desired. This the Commissioners did by no means like, nor would acquiesce in, and alledged, "that as the Conclusion must be the Subject of an Act of Parliament, so this Preamble must be a part of it, and would administer occasion of difference and dispute upon the interpretation of it; which being so clearly foreseen, ought not to be admitted in any Act of Parliament, much less in such a one as is to be the principal Foundation of a lasting Peace of the Kingdom. After much vexation of this kind, and importunity of Friends, as well as of Enemies, and being almost as weary of denying as of granting, he suffer'd the Preamble to be left out, and his consent to be deliver'd without it.

*At last
consents to it
without the
Preamble.*

*The fourth
Proposition
concerning
Ireland.*

It may be well wonder'd at, that, after having so far complied with these three Propositions, there should be any pause or hesitation in the debate of the rest. For in that concerning the Church, and the other concerning the Militia, both the Church and the Militia of *Ireland* follow'd the Fate of *England*, and were in effect comprehended in the same Propositions: So that there remain'd nothing more with reference to that Kingdom, "but declaring the Peace that was made there with the *Irish*, to be void; which they press'd with the same passion, as if they had obtain'd nothing; although his Majesty referr'd the carrying on the War to them, and told them, "that he knew nothing of the Peace, which had been made during his Imprisonment, when he could receive no Advertisement of what was doing, or done; and therefore he was content that it should be broken, and the War be carried on in such a manner as should please Them; which was all one to their ends and purposes, as what they desired. But this did by no means please them. If the Peace were not declared to be actually void, they could not so easily take

take that vengeance of the Marquis of Ormond as they resolv'd to do. Yet after all these general concessions, which so much concern'd Himself, and the Publick, and when the necessity that had oblig'd him to that unwilling compliance, might well have excus'd him for satisfying them in all the rest of their demands; when they press'd his consent to what only concern'd private and particular Persons, as the revoking all Honours and Grants of Offices which he had conferr'd upon those who had serv'd him faithfully; and to except many of them from Pardon, and leave them to the unmerciful censures of the two Houses, both for their Lives and Fortunes; to submit others to pay, for their Delinquency in obeying and serving him, a full moiety of all they were worth; to deprive others of their practice in their several Professions, and Functions (which expos'd all the Lawyers and Divines, who had been faithful to him, to utter ruin) it cannot be express'd with what grief, and trouble of mind he receiv'd those importunities; and without doubt, he would at that time with much more willingness have died, than submitted to it; but the Argument ^{Some other particulars the King as first shew'd} that he had done so much, was now press'd upon him (by his Friends, and those who were to receive as much prejudice as any by his doing it) "that he should do more; and since he had condescended to many things which gave himself no satisfaction, he would give so full satisfaction to the Parliament, that He might receive that benefit, and the Kingdom that Peace and Security he desired,

MANY Advertisements came from his Friends in London, and from other places, "that it was high time that the Treaty were at an end, and that the Parliament had all his Majesty's Answers before them, to determine what they would do upon them, before the Army drew nearer London, which, infallibly, it would shortly do, as soon as those in the North had finish'd their work. It was now near the end of October, and the appointed time for the conclusion of the Treaty was the fourth of November; and so after all importunities, as well of those who were to suffer, as of those who were to triumph in their sufferings, his Majesty's consent was procur'd to most that was demanded in the rest of the Propositions; the King, ^{but consents at last} and all Men, conceiving the Treaty to be at an end.

THE King had, about the middle of October, again deliver'd his own Proposition for his Liberty, his Revenue, and an Act of Oblivion, to the Commissioners; which they receiv'd. And though, at the beginning of the Treaty, they had refus'd to transmit it to the Houses, yet now, after so many concessions, they thought fit to send it; and did so as soon as they receiv'd it. But no answer was return'd. Here, ^{The Commissioners now send the King's own Proposition to the Parliament} upon, when the Treaty was within two days of expiring, his Majesty

Majesty demanded of them; "whether they had receiv'd any Instructions to treat upon, or to give an Answer to his own Proposition; which he had deliver'd to them so long since? "or whether they had receiv'd any Order to prolong the Treaty? To which they Answer'd, "they had not as to either. And when he asked them the same Question, the very last hour of the limited time, they made the same Answer. So that the whole forty days assign'd for the Treaty were expired, before they vouchsafed to return any Answer to the single Proposition the King had made to them. However they told him; "they had receiv'd new Command to "make fresh instance to his Majesty, that he would forthwith "publish a Declaration against the Marquis of Ormond; who "had very lately declared, that he had Authority to make a "Peace with the Irish Rebels; and was then treating with "them to that purpose. To which his Majesty Answer'd, "that it was not reasonable to press him to publish any Declaration against the Marquis; since that if the Treaty should "end happily, the desires of the two Houses were satisfied by "the Concessions he had already made; and so adhered to his first Answer. And conceiving the Treaty to be closed, he desired the Commissioners, "that since He had departed "from so much of his own Right to give his two Houses satisfaction, They would be a means that he might be pressed "no farther; since the few things he had not satisfied them "in, had so near relation to his Conscience, that, with the "Peace of that, he could not yield farther; and desired them "to use the same eloquence, and abilities; by which they had "prevailed with Him, in representing to the two Houses the "bad condition of the Kingdom, if it were not preserv'd by "this Treaty. And so concluded with many gracious expressions for their Personal civilities, and other kind Expressions; which made impression upon all of them who had any Bowels.

*They require
a Declaration
of the
King against
the Marquis
of Ormond.
His Majesty's
Answer.*

ALL this being past, and the King believing and expecting that the Commissioners would take their leave of him the next Morning, they came the same Night to inform him, "that they had then receiv'd new Orders and Instructions for "the continuing and enlarging the Treaty for fourteen days "longer; for which his Majesty was nothing glad; nor did they in the Houses who wished well to him, desire that Prolongation. For it was easily discern'd, that it was moved and prosecuted only by them who did not intend that the Treaty it self should have any good effect; which they were not yet ready and prepared enough to prevent, the Army not having yet finished what they were to do in all places; and was consented to unskilfully, by those who thought the con-

The Parliament enlarges the Treaty 14 days longer.

tinuance

the passage of the Treaty was the best sign that both sides desired Peace: and it quickly appear'd, by the new instances they made, that delay was their only business. The Commissioners, with new importunity, and bitterness, begun upon their new Instructions: "that the King would immediately publish the Declaration against the Marquis of Ormond, without any other reasons than those which he had Answer'd before. His Majesty Answer'd, "there was no other difference between them but in point of time, whether presently, or at the conclusion of the Peace: upon the Peace, they had the substance of their desire already granted; and if there were no Peace, they had reason to believe that no Declaration he should make would be believed or obeyed; and so adhered to what he had Answer'd formerly.

THEN they declared, "that the Parliament was not satisfied with his Concessions with reference to the Church; that the Presbyterian Government could be exercised with little profit, or comfort, if it should appear to be so short-liv'd as to continue but for three years; and that they must therefore press the utter extirpating the Function of Bishops. Then, the perfect and entire alienation of their Lands was insisted on; whereas by the King's Concessions, the old Revenue was still reserv'd to them. They said, "the Parliament did not intend to force, but only to rectify his Conscience; and, to that end, they added more reasons to convince him in the several points. They repeated their old distinction between the Scripture-Bishop, and the Bishop by Law. For the absolute alienation of their Lands, they urged many Precedents of what had been done in former times upon convenience, or necessity, not so visible and manifest as appear'd at present; and concluded with their usual threat, "that the consequence of his denial would be the continuance of the publick disturbances.

To all which his Majesty Answer'd, "that, for the Presbyterian Government, they might remember that their own first Order for the settling it, was only for three years; which they then thought a competent time for a Probationary Law, that contain'd such an alteration in the State; and therefore they ought to think the same now: and that it might be longer lived than three years, if it would in that time bear the test, and examination of it; and that nothing could be a greater honour to that discipline, than its being able to bear that test and examination. He said, "he was well pleased with their Expression, that they did not intend to force his Conscience; yet the manner of pressing him looked very like it, after he had so solemnly declared that it was against his Conscience; that he did concur with them

"in their distinction of Bishops, and if they would preserve the Scripture-Bishop, he would take away the Bishop by Law. He confessed, "that Necessity might justify, or excuse many things, but it could never warrant him to deprive the Church of God of an Order instituted for continual use, and for establishing a Succession of Lawful Ministers in the Church. For the point of Sacrilege, he said, "the concurrent opinion of all Divines was a much better information to his Conscience, what is Sacrilege, than any Precedents or Law of the Land could be. Upon the whole matter, he adhered to his former Answer in all the particulars, and concluded, "that he could with more comfort cast himself upon God's goodness to support him in, and defend him from all Afflictions, how great soever, that might befall him, than deprive himself of the inward tranquillity of his mind, for any Political consideration that might seem to be a means to restore him.

The Parliament's Votes upon the King's former Proposition.

It must not be forgotten, that the last day, when the Treaty was to end, they deliver'd to the King the Votes which the two Houses had pass'd concerning and upon his own Message (which had lain so long in their hands unanswer'd) which were in effect, 1. "That from and after such time as the Agreements upon this Treaty should be ratified by Acts of Parliament, all his Houses, Mannors, and Lands, with the growing Rents and Profits thereof, and all other Legal Revenue of the Crown should be restored to him, liable to the maintenance of those Ancient Forts, and Castles, and such other Legal Charges as they were formerly charged withal, or liable to. 2. That he should be then likewise resettled in a condition of Honour, Freedom, and Safety, agreeable to the Laws of the Land. 3. That an Act of Indemnity should be then pass'd with such exceptions and limitations as should be agreed upon, with this addition, that it should be declared by Act of Parliament, that nothing contain'd in his Majesty's Propositions should be understood or made use of to abrogate, weaken, or in any degree to impair any Agreement in this Treaty, or any Law, Grant, or Commission agreed upon by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, in pursuance thereof; in all which his Majesty acquiesced.

Another Prolongation of the Treaty till Nov. 25.

THE time limited for the Prolongation of the Treaty was to end upon the one and twentieth of November, and the Commissioners believ'd it so absolutely concluded, that they took their leave of the King, and early the next Morning went to Cowes Harbour to Embark themselves. But the Tyde not serving to Transport them out of the Island, that Night till Nov. 25, a Messenger arriv'd with Directions to them to continue the Treaty

Treaty till the five and twentieth; which was four days more. So, the three and twentieth, they return'd and acquainted his Majesty with it.

At the same time, the thundring Declaration of the Army was published; which declared the full resolution "to change the whole frame of the Government, and that they would be contented with no less an alteration; which, as it was an Argument to the King to endeavour all he could to unite the two Houses, that they might be able to bear that shock, so it was expected that it would have been no less an Argument to have prevailed with them to adhere to the King, since Their Interest was no less threaten'd than His.

THE fresh instances the Commissioners made, were upon several Votes which had passed the two Houses against Delinquents; and a new Proposition concerning those who had engaged themselves against the Parliament since the last *January*, and particularly against the Marquis of Ormond. They proposed, "that there should be seven Persons, the "Lord New-Castle, and six others (who were named) "who should be excepted from pardon, and their Estates forfeited: that the Delinquents, in the several Classes mentioned in their Proposition, should pay for their Composition, some a Moiety, others a third part of their Estates, and other Rates, as they were set down; and that all who had been engaged in the Land or Sea-Service since *January 1647*, should pay a full years value of their whole Estates more than the other Delinquents; and that none who had been against the Parliament should presume to come within either of the Courts belonging to the King, Queen, or Prince, or be capable of any Office or Preferment, or of serving in Parliament, for the space of three years; and that all Clergy Men who had been against the Parliament, should be deprived of all their Preferments, Places, and Promotions; which should be all void as if they were naturally dead. To these the King Answer'd, that, "to the excepting the seven Persons named from Pardon, and the forfeiture of their Estates, his Answer was, that, if they were proceeded against according to the ancient established Laws; and could not justify and defend themselves, he would not interpose on their behalf; but he could not, in justice or honour, joyn himself in any Act for taking away the Life or Estate of any that had adhered to him. For the Rates which were to be paid for Composition, he refer'd it to the two Houses of Parliament, and to the Persons themselves, who would be contented to pay it; and he did hope and desire, that they might be moderately dealt with. And for the Clergy Men, whose Preferments he well knew were already disposed of,

and in the hands of another kind of Clergy, who had deserv'd so well of the Parliament, that it would not be in his power to dispossess them, his Majesty desir'd, "that they might be "allowed a third part of what was taken from them, till such "time that they, or the present Incumbents, should be better provided for. As to the Marquis of *Ormond*, against whom they press'd what they had before done with extraordinary Animosity, the King Answer'd, "that since what he "had said before (and which would bring all to pass that they desir'd) "did not give them satisfaction, he had written a "Letter (which he deliver'd to them, to be sent, and read to them) "in which he directed him to desist; and said, if he "refused to submit to his Command, he would then publish "such a Declaration against his power and his proceedings, as "they desir'd.

Another
Prolongation
of the Treaty
for a day,
wherein they
present two
Propositions
more.

One concern-
ing Scot-
land.

To that the
King's An-
swer.

AND now the second limitation of time for the Treaty was at an end. But that Night came another Vote; which continued it for a day longer, with a Command to the Commissioners to return on *Thursday* Morning; which was the eight and twentieth of *November*: and thereupon they presented two Propositions to his Majesty, which were to be dispatched that day.

THE two Propositions they sent for one days work, were, the first, concerning *Scotland*; the other, concerning the Church; which they did not think they had yet destroy'd enough. For *Scotland*, they demand'd "the King's consent, "to confirm by Act of Parliament such Agreements as should "be made by both Houses with that Kingdom, in the security "of such thereof who had assist'd or adhered to those of the "Parliament of *England*, and for the settling and preserving a "happy and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for "the mutual defence of each other. The King put them in mind, "that at the beginning of the Treaty they had inform'd "him, that their Commission was only to treat concerning "*England*, and *Ireland*; and that they had no Authority to "meddle in any thing that related to *Scotland*; and that they "had thereupon refused to receive a Paper from him, which "was to preserve the Interest of that Kingdom; and demand- "ed of them, whether their Commission was enlarg'd; which they confess'd "was not; and that they had presented that "Paper only in obedience to the Order they had receiv'd. So that the King easily understood that the end was only that they might have occasion to publish, "that the King had re- "jected whatsoever was tender'd to him on the behalf of the "Kingdom of *Scotland*. To prevent which, he Answer'd, "that as he would joyn in any Agreement, to be confirm'd "by Act of Parliament, for the settling and preserving a happy
"and

“and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for their mutual defence of each other under him as King of both; so he would secure all who had been formerly engaged with them; but for any new Engagement, or Confederacy, which they would make hereafter, he would first know what it was, and be advised with in the making it, before he would promise to confirm it. The other business with reference to the Church gave him much more trouble. The Commissioners press’d him “to consider the Exigence of time, and that there was not a whole day left to determine the Fate of the Kingdom; and that nothing could unite the Counsels of those who wished and desired Peace, and to live happily under his Subjection and obedience, against the bold attempts of the Army, which had enough declared and manifested what their intention was, but satisfying the Houses fully in what they demanded in that particular. His own Council, and the Divines, besought him “to consider the safety of his own Person, even for the Church’s and his People’s sakes, who had some hope still left whilst He should be preserv’d, which could not but be attended with many Blessings: whereas, if He were destroyed, there was scarce a possibility to preserve them: that the moral and unavoidable necessity that lay upon him, obliged him to do any thing that was not Sin; and that, upon the most prudential thoughts which occur’d to them, the Order which He, with so much Piety and Zeal, endeavour’d to preserve, was much more like to be destroyed by his not complying, than by his suspending it till his Majesty and his two Houses should agree upon a future Government; which, they said, much differ’d from an abolition of it.

HEREUPON he gave them his final Answer, “that after such condescensions, and weigh’d resolutions in the business of the Church, he had expected not to be farther press’d therein; it being his judgement, and his conscience. He said, he could not, as he was then inform’d, abolish Episcopacy out of the Church; yet, because he apprehended how fatal new distractions might be to the Kingdom, and that he believ’d his two Houses would yield to truth, if it were made manifest to them, as he had always declared that he would comply with their Demands, if he were convinced in his Conscience, he did therefore again desire a Consultation with Divines, in the manner he had before propos’d, and would in the mean time suspend the Episcopal power, as well in point of Ordination of Ministers, as of Jurisdiction, till He and the two Houses should agree what Government should be establish’d for the future. For Bishop’s Lands, he could not consent to the absolute alienation of them from the Church.

"Church, but would consent that Leases for Lives, or Years, "not exceeding ninety nine, should be made for the satisfaction of Purchasers or Contractors; little differing from the Answer he had formerly given to this last particular: and in all the rest he adhered to his former Answers. And the Commissioners, having receiv'd this his final Answer, took their leaves, and the next Morning begun their Journey towards London.

THE King had begun a Letter to the Prince his Son before the first forty days were expired, and continued it, as the Treaty was lengthen'd, even to the hour it was concluded, and finished it the nine and twentieth of November after the Commissioners were departed, and with it sent a very exact Copy of all the Papers which had passed in the Treaty, in the order in which they were passed, fairly engrossed by one of the Clerks who attended: But the Letter it self was all in his own hand, and contain'd above six Sheets of Paper; in which he made a very particular relation of all the motives and reasons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to make those Concessions; out of which most of this relation is extracted. And it is almost evident, that the Major part of both Houses of Parliament was, at that time, so far from desiring the execution of all those Concessions, that, if they had been able to have resisted the wild fury of the Army, they would have been themselves Suitors to have declined the greatest part of them. That which seem'd to afflict him most, next what referr'd to the Church and Religion, and which, he said, "had a large share in his conscientious considerations, was the hard measure his Friends were subjected to; for whose Interest he did verily believe he should better provide in the execution of the Treaty, than he had been able to do in the Preliminaries. For, he said, "he could not but think, "that all who were willing that he should continue their "King, and to live under his Government, would be far "from desiring in the conclusion to leave so foul a Brand "upon his Party, of which they would all desire to be accounted for the time to come. However, he hoped that "all his Friends would consider, not what he had submitted "to, but how much he had endeavour'd to relieve them from; and conjured the Prince his Son, "that the less he had been "able himself to do for them, the more, if God blessed him, "He should acknowledge and supply. He said, "he would "willingly forget in how high degree some Subjects had been "disloyal, but never had Prince a Testimony in others of "more Loyalty than He had had; and however that God, "for their, and his punishment, had not blessed some of their "Endeavours, yet, he said, more misguided Persons were at "work than he could name during that "last

probably by Edw. Walker
of which Historical
copies printed in the 12th
P. Noble are annexed.
fect Copy of all
the King's
Letter to his
Son concern-
ing the whole
Treaty.
Arms relating
what passed in the
city held at Newport in
a of Wight in 17th
Oct. 1648
between his life and
K. Charles 1st
His Majesty is a
miserable of 1648 & Con.
of 1648. Dred by
his special Com.
and by Edw. Walker
Under Principal Clerk
to his Majesty
for is employed by his Majesty
at the end of it is added by way of Conclusion a few
reflections on the Unparalleled Injuries of the Army in prever-
of K. Gracious Concession made in this Treaty. is voted by the
House of Commons sitting in 1648
to be satisfactory, having effect, in providing & calling
of the Army & preventing of all from sitting in the House
him

OF THE REBELLION, &c.

"last reduced to their Loyalty, than could in any story be
"exempl'd; and that, by that, Subjects might learn how
"dangerous the neglect of seasonable duty is; and that Men
"cannot easily fix when they please what they have unnecef-
"sarily shaken. The conclusion of the Letter, as it was dated,
the five and twentieth of November (what was added to it
after, till the nine and twentieth, was but the additional pas-
sages upon the enlargement of time) deserves to be preserv'd
in Letters of Gold, and gives the best Character of that ex-
cellent Prince; and was in these words.

"By what hath been said, you see how long We have la-
"bour'd in the search of Peace: do not You be dishearten'd
"to tread in the same steps. Use all worthy ways to restore
"your self to your Right, but prefer the way of Peace: shew
"the greatness of your mind, if God bless you (and let Us
"comfort you with that which is our own Comfort, that
"though Affliction may make us pass under the censures of
"Men, yet we look upon it so, as if it procure not, by
"God's Mercy, to Us a Deliverance, it will to You a blessing)
"rather to conquer your Enemies by pardoning, than punish-
"ing. If You saw how unmanly and unchristian the im-
"placable disposition is in our ill-Willers, you would avoid
"that Spirit. Censure Us not for having parted with so much
"of our own Right; the price was great, but the commodity
"was security to Us, Peace to our People: and we were con-
"fident, another Parliament would remember how useful a
"King's power is to a People's liberty; of how much thereof
"We devoted Our self, that We and They might meet once
"again in a due Parliamentary way, to agree the bounds of
"Prince and People. And in this give belief to our Expe-
"rience, never to affect more Greatness or Prerogative, than
"that which is really and intrinsically for the Good of Sub-
"jects, not the satisfaction of Favourites. If you thus use it,
"you will never want means to be a Father to all, and a
"bountiful Prince to any you would be extraordinary gracious
"to. You may perceive all Men entrust their Treasure where
"it returns them Interest; and if Princes, like the Sea, re-
"ceive, and repay all the fresh streams the River entrusts with
"them, they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make
"them up an Ocean. These considerations may make You
"as great a Prince, as your Father is now a low one; and
"Your State may be so much the more establish'd, as Mine
"hath been shaken. For our Subjects have learn'd (we dare
"say) that Victories over their Princes are but Triumphs over
"themselves; and so will be more unwilling to hearken to
"changes hereafter. The *English* Nation are a sober People,
"however at present infatuated.

Q 3

"We

The Conclu-
sion of this
Letter in the
King's own
words.

"We know not but this may be the last time We may speak to you, or the World, publicly: We are sensible into what hands We are fallen; and yet, We bless God, We have those inward refreshments the Malice of our Enemies cannot perturb. We have learn'd to busy Our self by retiring into Our self; and therefore can the better digest what befalls Us; not doubting but God's Providence will restrain Our Enemies power, and turn their Fierceness to his Praise.

"To conclude, if God gives you Success, use it humbly and far from Revenge. If He restore you to your Right upon hard Conditions, whatever you promise, keep. These Men, who have forced Laws, which they were bound to preserve, will find their Triumphs full of Troubles. Do not think any thing in this World worth the obtaining by foul and unjust means.

"You are the Son of our Love, and as We direct you to weigh what We here recommend to you, so We assure you, We do not more affectionately pray for you (to whom We are a Natural Parent) than We do, that the ancient Glory and Renown of this Nation be not buried in Irreligion and Phanatick Humour; and that all our Subjects (to whom We are a Politick Parent) may have such sober thoughts, as to seek their Peace in the Orthodox profession of the Christian Religion, as was established since the Reformation in this Kingdom, and not in new Revelations; and that the ancient Laws, with the interpretation according to the known practice, may once again be a hedge about Them: that You may in due time govern, and They be govern'd, as in the fear of God; which is the prayer of

"Your very loving Father C. R.

Newport 25th Nov. 1648.

WHILST the Treaty lasted, it was believ'd that his Majesty might have made his escape; which most Men who wish'd him well, thought in all respects ought to have been attempted; and before the Treaty, he himself was inclin'd to it, thinking any Liberty preferable to the restraint he had endured. But he did receive some discouragement from pursuing that purpose, which both diverted him from it, and gave him great trouble of mind. It cannot be imagin'd how wonderfully fearful some Persons in *France* were that he should have made his Escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; which, without doubt, was not from want of tenderness to his safety, but from the apprehension they had, that the little respect they would have shew'd him there, would have been a greater mortification to him than all that he could suffer

THERE was in the Garrison one *Rolph*, a Captain of a Foot Company, whom *Cromwell* placed there as a prime Confident, a Fellow of a low Extraction, and very ordinary parts ;

 Q_4

who,

who, from a Common Soldier, had been trusted in all the intrigues of the Army, and was one of the Agitators inspired by *Cromwell* to put any thing into the Soldiers minds, upon whom he had a wonderful Influence, and could not contain himself from speaking maliciously and wickedly against the King, when dissimulation was at the highest amongst the great Officers. This Man grew into great familiarity with *Osborne*, and knowing from what Person he came recommended to that Trust, could not doubt but that he was well inclined to any thing that might advance him; and so, according to his custom of reviling the King, he wished "he were out of the World; for they should never make any Settlement whilst he was alive. He said, he was sure the Army wished him dead, and that *Hammond* had receiv'd many Letters from the Army to take Him away by Poyson, or any other way; but he saw it would never be done in that place; and therefore, if he would joyn with him, they would get Him from thence; and then the work would easily be done. *Osborne* asked him, "how it could be possible to remove Him from thence, without *Hammond's*, or the King's own consent? *Rolph* Answer'd, "that the King might be decoy'd from thence, as he was from *Hampton Court*, by some Letters from his Friends, of some danger that threaten'd him, upon which he would be willing to make an Escape; and then he might easily be dispatched. *Osborne* shortly found an opportunity to inform the King of all this.

THE King bid him "continue his familiarity with *Rolph*, "and to promise to joyn with him in contriving how his Majesty should make an Escape; and he hoped thereby to make *Rolph's* Villany the means of getting away. He recommended one of the Common Soldiers to *Osborne*, "who, he said, he thought, might be trusted; and wished him "to trust "one *Doucet*; whom the King had known before, and who was then placed to wait upon him at his back stairs, and was indeed an honest Man; for it was impossible for him to make an Escape, without the privity of such Persons, who might provide for him, when he was got out of the Castle, as well as help him from thence. *Osborne* told *Rolph*, "he was confident "he should in the end perswade the King to attempt an Escape, though he yet seem'd jealous and apprehensive of being discover'd, and taken again. *Doucet* concurr'd very willingly in it, and the Soldier who was chosen by the King, prov'd likewise very honest, and wrought upon one or two of his Companions who used to stand Sentinels at the place where the King intended to get out. All things were provided; and the King had a File, and Saw; with which he

B. M. A. W. 2d in his Attempt for the King's Escape.
 then Oxon. 2. 2d 1724.
 C. 11. 2d p. 82 sub. ar. 1649.
 Acc. of J. C. C. of the King's
 L. & W. incl. in the
 on C. Hammond being
 ready to have receiv'd
 to his escape.
 B. one Dr. W. & J.
 G. G. in the
 right way we concern'd
 forward. & King's escape of his life for the King's
 K. Ch. 11. after the destruction of the King in the year 1723.
 occasion of the death of his son Dr. W. & J. in 1723.
 B. 1723. 1723. 1723. 1723. 1723. 1723. 1723. 1723. 1723. 1723.
 Restant. yet in the year 1723. he was in the year 1723.
 Hy. at 1723. 1649.

with wonderful trouble, saw'd an Iron Bar in the Window, by which he could be able to get out; and being in this readiness, the Night was appointed, and *Osborne* at the place where he was to receive the King. But one of the Soldiers inform'd *Rolph* of more particulars than *Osborne* had done, by which he concluded that he was false, and directed the Soldier to proceed, and stand Sentinel in the same place to which he had been assign'd; and he, and some others trusted by him, were Arm'd, and stood very near with their Pistols. At midnight the King came to the Window, resolving to go out; but as he was putting himself out, he discern'd more Persons to stand thereabout than used to do, and thereupon suspected that there was some discovery made; and so shut the Window, and retired to his Bed. And this was all the ground of a discourse, which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out at the Window, and could neither draw his Body after, nor get his Head back, and so was compell'd to call out for help; which was a meer fiction.

ROLPH acquainted *Hammond* with what the King had design'd; who presently went into his Chamber, and found the King in his Bed, but the Bar of the Window cut in two, and taken out; by which he concluded his information to be true; and presently seised upon *Doucet*, but could not apprehend *Osborne*; who was either fled out of the Island, or conceal'd in it that he could not be found. *Rolph* could not forbear to insult upon *Doucet* in Prison, and scornfully asked him, "why his King came not forth when he was at the Window? and said, "he was ready with a good Pistol charg'd to have receiv'd him. When *Osborne* had got into a place of present safety, he writ a Letter to his Patron the Lord *Wharton*, informing him of the whole matter; and desired him, "to acquaint the House of Peers of the design upon the King's Life, and that he would be ready to appear and justify the Conspiracy. That Lord, after he had kept the Letter some time, sent it to *Hammond*, as the fittest Person to examine the truth of the Relation. *Osborne* was not discouraged with all this; but sent two Letters to the Speakers of both Houses, and inclosed the Letter he had formerly writ to the Lord *Wharton*. In the House of Commons the information was slighted, and laid aside; but it made more impression upon the House of Peers; who sent, with more than ordinary earnestness, to the Commons, "that *Rolph* might be sent for, and a Safe-guard for forty days to *Osborne* to appear, and prosecute.

ROLPH brought with him a large Testimonial from *Hammond* of "his Integrity, and of the many good Services he had done to the State. *Osborne* appear'd likewise at the Lords

Osborne accus'd Rolph for a design upon the King's Life

Lords Bar, and made good upon Oath all that is before set down, and undertook to produce other Evidence. The House of Commons had no mind to have it examin'd farther, but the clamour of the People was so great, that, after many delays, they Voted "that it should be try'd at the General Assizes at Winchester. And thither they sent their well try'd Serjeant Wild, to be the sole Judge of that Circuit: before whom the Major part of the same Jury that had found Captain Burley guilty, was impannell'd for the Tryal of Rolpb. Osborne, and Doucet, who upon Bail had liberty to be there, appear'd to make good the Indictment; and, upon their Oaths, declared all that Rolpb had said to them, as is set down before. The Prisoner, if he may be call'd a Prisoner who was under no restraint, had two Lawyers assign'd to be of Council with him, contrary to the Law and Custom in those Cases; but he needed not to have had any Council but the Judge himself; who told the Jury, "that it was a business of great importance that was before them; and therefore that they "should take heed what they did in it: that there Was a "time indeed when Intentions and Words were Treason, but "God forbid it should be so now: how did any body know "but that those two Men, Osborne and Doucet, would have "made away the King, and that Rolpb charg'd his Pistol to "preserve him? or, perhaps they would have carried him "away to have engaged them in a second War. He told them, "they were mistaken who did believe the King in "Prison; the Parliament did only keep him safe to save the "shedding of more Blood. Upon these good directions, the Grand Jury found an *Ignoramus* upon the Bill; and this was some little time before the Treaty.

The Commissioners report at the Isle of Wight, were return'd to the Parliament, their report took up many days in the House of Commons, where the Resolution was first to be taken; which commonly was final, the Lords rarely presuming to contradict what the others thought fit to determine. The Question upon the whole was, "whether the Answer that the King had made to their Propositions, was satisfactory? which was debated with all the Virulence, and Acrimony towards each other, that can fall from Men so possessed as both sides were.

Mr Harry Vane's Speech concerning it. YOUNG Sr Harry Vane had begun the Debate with the highest Insolence, and Provocation; telling them, "that they "should that day know and discover, who were their Friends, "and who were their Foes; or, that he might speak more "plainly, who were the King's Party in the House, and who "were for the People; and so proceeded with his usual grave bitterness against the Person of the King, and the Government

ment that had been too long Settled; put them in mind, that they had been diverted from their old settled Resolution and Declaration, that they would make no more Addresses to the King; after which the Kingdom had been govern'd in great Peace, and begun to taste the sweet of that Republican Government which they intended and begun to establish, when, by a Combination between the City of London and an ill affected Party in Scotland, with some small contemptible Insurrections in England, all which were fomented by the City, the Houses had, by clamour and noise, been induced and compell'd to reverse their former Votes and Resolution, and enter into a Personal Treaty with the King; with whom they had not been able to prevail, notwithstanding the low Condition he was in, to give them any security; but he had still reserv'd a power in himself, or at least to his Posterity, to exercise as Tyrannical a Government as he had done: that all the Insurrections, which had so terrified them, were now totally subdued; and the principal Authors and Abettors of them in their Custody, and ready to be brought to Justice, if they pleased to direct, and appoint it: that their Enemies in Scotland were reduced, and that Kingdom entirely devoted to a firm and good correspondence with their Brethren, the Parliament of England; so that there was nothing wanting, but their own Consent and Resolution, to make themselves the happiest Nation and People in the World; and to that purpose desired, that they might, without any more loss of time, return to their former Resolution of making no more Addresses to the King; but proceed to the settling the Government without him, and to the severe punishment of those who had disturbed their peace and quiet, in such an exemplary manner, as might terrify all other Men for the future from making the like bold attempts: which, he told them, they might see would be most grateful to their Army, which had merited so much from them by the Remonstrance they had so lately publish'd.

THIS discourse appear'd to be exceedingly disliked, by that kind of Murmur which usually shews how the House stands inclined, and by which Men make their judgements there, of the success that is like to be. And his Preface, and Entrance into the Debate, were taken notice of with equal sharpness; and, "his presumption in taking upon himself to divide the House, and to censure their Affections to the Publick, as their sense and judgement should agree, or disagree with his own. One said, "that since he had, without Example, taken so much upon him, he was not to take it ill, if the contrary was assumed by other Men; and that it was as law-
"ful

“ful for another Man, who said he was no gainer by the
 “Troubles, to make another Division of the House, and to
 “say, that they should find in the Debate of that day that
 “there were some who were desirous of Peace; and that They
 “were all losers, or, at least, no gainers by the War; and
 “that others were against Peace; and that They by the War
 “had gained large Revenues, and great Sums of Money, and
 “much Wealth; and therefore his Motion was, that the
 “Gainers might contribute to the Losers, if they would not
 “consent that the one might enjoy what was left, and the
 “other possess what they had got, by a Peace that might be
 “happy for both.

The large Remonstrances of the Army brought to the House by six Officers.

WHILST this was debating in the House, which continued several days, six Officers, from the head Quarters at *Windsor*, whither the Army had been brought before, or at the time when the Treaty ended at the Isle of *Wight*, brought their large Remonstrance to the House; in which they desired, “that there might be no farther proceedings upon the Treaty; but that they would return to their former determination of no farther Addresses, and make what haste they could in settling the Government: that the bargaining Proposition on the behalf of Delinquents, which was only upon “a Contract with the King, and not in any Judicial way, “might be laid aside; and that publick Justice might be done “upon the principal Actors in the late Troubles, and that “others, upon a true submission, might find Mercy: that a “peremptory day might be set, when the Prince of *Wales*, and “the Duke of *York*, should be required to appear; which if “they should not do, they should stand exiled as Traitors; “and if they should appear, yet they should be bound to make “some satisfaction: that an end might be put to this Parliament, and a new Representative chosen of the People, for “the governing and preserving the whole Body of the Nation. That no King might be hereafter admitted but upon “Election of the People, and as upon trust for the People, “who should be likewise limited and restrain’d by the Representative, with many other impracticable Particulars, which troubled the Parliament the less for their incoherence, and impossibility to be reduced into practice.

The King taken from Carisbrooke Castle and carried to Hurst Castle.

BUT that which troubled most, and indeed which awaken’d them to the most dismal apprehensions, was, that they were advertised, that the King was taken away from *Carisbrooke* Castle by an Officer of the Army, and carried to *Hurst* Castle, not far from the other, but Situated on the main Land, and in so vile and unwholesome an Air, that the Common Guards there used to be frequently changed for the preservation of their health. Colonel *Hammond* had, before the expiration of the

the Treaty, writ many Letters to the Parliament, to be discharged from that Government, and from the care of the King's Person; and the Officers of the Army seem'd wonderfully offended with him for making the demand; and he got himself looked upon as under a Cloud. But the Treaty was no sooner ended (and before the Commissioners begun their Report to the Houses) but he was discharged of the Trust of the Person of the King, and another Colonel sent to take the Person of the King, and to carry him to *Hurst Castle*.

THIS News being brought when they were in the heat of the Debate upon the King's Answer, they gave over that contest, and immediately Voted, "that the seizing upon the King's Person, and carrying him Prisoner to *Hurst Castle*, was without Their advice and consent: which Vote had little contradiction, because no Man would own the Advice. Then they caused a Letter to be written to the General, "that the Orders and Instructions to Colonel *Ewre* (the Officer who had seized the King) "were contrary to their Resolutions, "and Instructions to Colonel *Hammond*; and therefore, that "it was the pleasure of the House, that he should recal those Orders; and that Colonel *Hammond* should again resume the care of the King's Person. But the General, without taking any notice of their Complaint, or of their Command, demanded the payment of the Arrears due to the Army; and told them, "that unless there were present Money sent to "that purpose, he should be forced to remove the Army, and "to draw them nearer to *London*. And at the same time a new Declaration was sent to the House from the Army, in pursuance of their late Remonstrance; which the House refused to take into consideration; and some sturdy Members moved, "that the Army might be declared Traitors, if they "presumed to march nearer *London* than they were at present; and that an impeachment of High Treason might be "drawn up against the principal Officers of it. Hereupon, the General marches directly for *London*, and Quarters at *White-Hall*; the other Officers, with their Troops, in *Durham House*, the *Mues*, *Coveat Garden*, *Westminster*, and *St James's*; and for the present necessity, that no inconvenience might fall out, they sent to the City without delay to supply forty thousand pounds, to be immediately issued out to satisfy the Army. Notwithstanding all which monstrous proceeding, the House of Commons retained it's Courage, and were resolute "to assert the Treaty; and that the King's Answers "were satisfactory; or if they were not fully satisfactory, that "the House might, and ought to accept thereof, and proceed to the settlement of Peace in Church and State, rather "than

* viz. Col Cobbet w^{ch} performed in a

very violent manner as is seen by his A. 1000
Vote of the House of Commons thereupon. 2 Decr. 1721. Vol. 11.

Parli. p. 82. no. ar 1649
in J. Acc. of G. 2.
Cobbet is a relation
from J. Inform. of
J. No: Herbert.

Another Declaration of the Army sent to the House.

The General marches for London.

"than to reject them as unsatisfactory, and thereby continue
"the Kingdom in War and Distraction.

THEY who vehemently pressed this Conclusion, and would be thought to be for the King, to make themselves popular, took upon them to make all the Investives both against the King, and all the time of his Government, that his bitterest Enemies could do, only that they might shew how much the concessions he had now granted, had provided Remedies for all those Evils, and made all the foundation of their future hope of happiness and peace, to be in the no-power they had left him in: so that if he should have a mind to continue the Distractions to morrow, he would find no Body ready ever to joyn with him, having at this time sacrificed all his Friends to the Mercy of their mortal Enemies. In conclusion, and when they had prosecuted the Debate most part of the Night, till almost five of the Clock in the Morning, on *Monday* Night, they had first put the Question, "whether the Question should be put? and carried it by a hundred and forty Voices against one hundred and four: the main Question, "That the Answer of the King to the Propositions of both Houses was a ground for the Houses to proceed upon for the settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, was so clearly Voted, that the House was not divided; and that there might be no after-claps, they appointed a Committee "to confer with the General, for the better procuring a good Intelligence and Correspondence between the Army and the Parliament; and then they Adjourn'd the House to *Wednesday* Morning, it being then near the Morning of *Tuesday*.

THE Committee that was appointed to confer with the General, waited, that Afternoon upon him in his Lodging at *White-Hall*, that they might be able to give some Account to the House the next Morning. But they were forced to attend full three hours, before they could be admitted to his presence; and then he told them sullenly and superciliously, "that the way to correspond with the Army, was to comply with their Remonstrance: and, the next Morning there was a Guard of Musqueteers placed at the entry into, and door of the House, and the Officers thereof having a List in their hands of the Names of those who should be restrain'd from going into the House, all Those were stopped, one by one, as they came, and sent into the Court of Wards, where they were kept together for many hours, under a Guard, to the number of near one hundred. Notwithstanding which there were so many of the same opinion got into the House, through the inadvertency of the Guard, or because they meant only to sequester the most notorious and refractory Persons, that the Debate, upon resuming the same Question, continued very

long;

Vote "that
"the King's
"Answer
"was a
"ground for
"Peace.

Many of the
Members on-
spring into the
House seized
upon by the
Soldiers.

long; several Members who observ'd the force at the entrance of the House, and saw their Companions not suffer'd to come in, complain'd loudly of the Violence and Breach of Privilege, and demanded remedy; but, in vain; the House would take no notice of it. In the conclusion, after a very long Debate, the Major part of those who were present in the House, Voted the Negative to what had been settled in the former Debate, and "that the Answer the King had given to their Propositions was not satisfactory.

THOSE Gentlemen who for some hours had been restrain'd in the Court of Wards, were afterwards led in Triumph through *Westminster-Hall* (except some few, who were suffer'd for affection, or by negligence, to go away) by a strong Guard, to that place under the Exchequer which is commonly called *Hell*; where they might eat and drink, at their own charge, what they pleas'd. And here they were kept in one Room, till after twelve of the Clock in the Night: after which hour, in respect of the extreme cold Weather, and the Age of many of the Members, they were carried to several Inns; where they were suffer'd to lodge as Prisoners, and remain'd under that confinement for two or three days. In which time, they publish'd a Protestation in Print against the Proceedings of the House of Commons, declaring "the force and violence that had been used against them: and then the House, with the remaining Members, having determin'd what they thought fit, most of the other were at liberty to do what they pleas'd. No body own'd this Act of Violence in the Exclusion of so many Members: there was no Order made for it by the House. *Fairfax* the General knew nothing of it, and the Guards themselves being asked "what Authority they had, gave no other Answer "but that they "had Orders. But afterwards there was a full and clear Order of the House, without taking notice of any exclusion, "that "none of them who had not been present that day when the "Negative Vote prevail'd, should sit any more in the House, "before they had first subscribed the same Vote, as agree- "able to their judgements; which if they subscribed, they "were as well qualified Members as before. Many of these excluded Members, out of Conscience or Indignation, forbore coming any more to the House for many years; some, not before the Revolution; others, sooner or later, return'd to their old Seats, that they might not be idle when so much business was to be done.

THEN the House renew'd their old Votes of no more Addresses, and annull'd and made void all those which introduced the Treaty: and that they might find no more such contradiction hereafter, they committed to several Prisons Major General

The remaining Members Vote the contrary to former Votes.

Vote, "that those who were absent as the Negative Vote "should sit no more in the House.

Vote of no more Addresses renewed.

General *Brown* (though he was then Sheriff of *London*) *Sr John Cletworth*, *Sr William Waller*, Major General *Massey*, and Commissary General *Copley*, who were the most active Members in the House of the Presbyterian Party, and who had all as maliciously advanced the Service of the Parliament in their several Stations against the King as any Men of their Rank in the Kingdom, and much more than any Officer of the present Army had then credit to do: of these, *Massey* made his escape, and Transported himself into *Holland*; and there, according to the natural Modesty of that Sect, presented himself to the Prince, with as much confidence (and as a Sufferer for the King his Father) as if he had defended *Colchester*.

The Protestation of the secluded Members.

THE Protestation that the secluded Members had published and caused to be Printed, with the Narrative of the violence that had been exercised upon them, and their declaring all Acts to be void which from that time had been done in the House of Commons, made a great noise over the Kingdom, and no less incensed those who remain'd and sat in the House, than it did the Officers of the Army; and therefore, to lessen the credit of it, the House likewise made a Declaration against that Protestation; and declared it, "to be False, Scandalous, and Seditious, and tending to the destruction of the visible and Fundamental Government of the Kingdom; and to this wonderful Declaration they obtain'd the concurrence of the small House of Peers, and jointly ordain'd "that that Protestation should be suppressed, and "that no Man should presume to sell, or buy, or to read the same.

Voted against by both Houses.

Votes of the House of Commons.

WHEN they had in this manner master'd all contradiction and opposition, they begun more directly to consult what they were to do, as well as what they were Not to do, and to establish some Affirmative conclusions, as they had done Negatives. They were told, "that it was high time to settle some form of Government, under which the Nation was to live: there had been much Treasure and Blood spent to recover the liberty of the People, which would be to no purpose if there were not provision made for their secure enjoying it; and there would be always the same attempts made, which had been of late, to disturb and to destroy the publick Peace, if there were not such exemplary penalties inflicted, as might terrify all Men, of what condition soever, from entering upon such desperate Undertakings. They resolv'd to gratify the Army, by taking a view of a Paper formerly digested by them as a model for a new Government, which was called *the Agreement of the People*, and for contriving and publishing whereof, one of the Agitators

had been, by *Cromwell's* directions, the year before, shot to death, when he found the Parliament was so much offended with it. They declared now, as the most popular thing they could do to please both the People and the Army, "that they would put an end to the Parliament on the last day of *April* next; and that there should be a Representative of the Nation, consisting of three hundred Persons chosen by the People; of which, for the Term of seven years, no Person who had adher'd to the King, or who should oppose this Agreement, or not subscribe thereunto, should be capable of being chosen to be one, or to have a voice in the Election; and that, before that time, and before the Dissolution of the present Parliament, it would be necessary to bring those signal Delinquents, who had lately disturbed the Quiet and Peace of the Kingdom, and put it to so great an expence of Blood and Treasure, to exemplary punishment. And it was with great impudence very vehemently urged, that they ought to begin with Him who had been the cause of all the miseries, and mischiefs, which had befallen the Kingdom, and whom they had already deposed of all Power and Authority to govern them for the future; and they had had near two years experience, that the Nation might be very happily govern'd without any recourse to him: that they had already declared, and the House of Peers had concurr'd with them, that the King had been the cause of all the Blood which had been spilt; and therefore, that it was fit that such a Man of Blood should be brought to Justice, that he might undergo the penalty that was due to his Tyranny and Murthers: that the People expected This at their hands; and that having the principal Malefactor in their power, he might not escape the punishment that was due to him.

How new and monstrous soever this language and discourse was to all *English* Ears, they found a Major part still to concur with them: so that they appointed a Committee for the present "to prepare a charge of High Treason against the King, which should contain the several Crimes, and Misde-
A Committee appointed by them to prepare a charge against the King.
meanours of his Reign; which being made; they would consider of the best way and manner of Proceeding, that he might be brought to Justice.

THIS manner of proceeding in *England* was so unheard of, that it was very hard for any Body to propose any way to oppose it that might carry with it any hope of success. However, the pain the Prince was in, would not suffer him to rest without making some effort. He knew too well how far the States of *Holland* were from wishing that success; and honour to the Crown of *England*, as it had deserv'd from them, and

The Prince
of Wales,
desires the
States to in-
tercede with
the two
Houses.

how much they had always favour'd the Rebellion ; that his own preface was in no degree acceptable or grateful to them ; and that they were devising all ways how they might be rid of him : yet he believ'd the way they were now upon in *England*, would be so universally odious to all Christians, that no Body of Men would appear to favour it. His Highness therefore sent to the States General, to desire them " to give him " an Audience the next day ; and that he would come to the " place where they sat ; which he did, being met by the whole Body at the bottom of the Stairs, and conducted into the Room where they sat.

THE Prince was attended by four or five of his Council ; and when he had said a little to the States of Compliment, he refer'd them to a paper which *St William Boswell*, the King's Resident there, was to deliver to them. The paper described the ill condition the King his Father was in ; and the threats and menaces which his Enemies used to proceed against him in such a manner as must be abominated by all Christians, and which would bring the greatest reproach and obloquy upon the Protestant Religion, that ever Christianity had undergone : And therefore desired them, " that they would " interpose their credit, and authority, in such a manner as " they thought fit, with the two Houses at *Westminster*, that, " instead of such an unlawful and wicked prosecution, they " would enter into Terms of accommodation with his Royal " Father ; for the observation whereof his Royal Highness " would become bound.

Their An-
swer.

THE States assured his Highness, " that they were very " much afflicted at the condition of the King, and would be " glad any interposition of theirs might be able to relieve " him ; that they would seriously consider in what manner " they might serve him. And, that day, they resolv'd to send an extraordinary Embassadour into *England*, who should repair to the Prince of *Wales*, and receive his Instructions to what Friends of the King's he should resort, and consult with ; who, being upon the place, might best inform him to whom to apply himself. And they made choice of *Paw*, the Pensioner of *Holland*, for their Embassadour, who immediately attended the Prince with the Offer of his Service, and many professions of his desire that his Journey might produce some good Effect.

THE Council that was about the Prince, had looked upon *Paw* as a Man that had always favour'd the Rebellion in *England*, and as much obstructed all Civilities from the States towards the King, as was possible for him to do ; and therefore they were very sorry that He was made choice of for Embassadour in such a fatal conjuncture. But the Prince of *Orange* assured

+ in conjunction with
Lieut. Albert Jacobine

& they were admitted to an Audience before, viz. on Jan. 29. when
 appear from the Letter they sent to y^e King's General. for London dated
 1649. 2. 1. on Tuesday. viz. in 30. 05. 1649. printed in a Book ext^d The
OF THE REBELLION *the English public celebration*
 assured the Prince, that he had used all his credit to com-
 pels that Election; that he was the Wisest Man of their
 Body; and that neither He, nor any of the rest, who had
 cherished the *English* Rebellion more than he, ever desired
 it should prosper to that degree it had done, as to endanger
 the changing the Government; and therefore wilhed "there
 might not appear any distrust of him, but that the Prince
 would treat him with confidence, and some of the Council
 would confer with him with freedom, upon any particular
 which would be necessary for him to be instructed in. But
 the wisdom of Angels was not sufficient to give any effectual
 advice for such a Negotiation, since the States could not be
 brought so much to interest themselves, as to use any Menaces
 to the Parliament as if they would embark themselves in the
 quarrel. So that the Council could only wish, "that the Em-
 bassadour would confer with such of the King's Friends
 who were then at London, and whose relation had been
 most eminent towards his Majesty; and receive advice from
 them, how he might most hopefully prevail over particu-
 lar Men, and thereby with the Parliament. And so the Em-
 bassadour departed for *England*, within less than a week after
 he was nominated for the Employment.

At the same time, the Queen of *England*, being struck to
 the heart with amazement and confusion upon the report of
 what the Parliament intended, sent a Paper to the Agent who
 was employed there by the Cardinal to keep a good corres-
 pondence; which she obliged him to deliver to the Parlia-
 ment. The Paper contain'd a very passionate lamentation of
 the sad condition the King her Husband was in; desiring
 "that they would grant her a Pass to come over to him, of-
 fering to use all the credit she had with him, that he might
 give them satisfaction. However, if they would not give
 her leave to perform any of those Offices towards the Pub-
 lick, that she might be permitted to perform the Duty she
 owed Him, and to be near him in the uttermost Extremity.
 Neither of these Addresses did more than express the Zeal of
 those who procured them to be made: the Embassadour *Paw*
 could neither get leave to see the King (which he was to
 endeavour to do, that he might from himself be instructed best
 what to do) nor be admitted to an Audience by the Parlia-
 ment, till after the Tragedy was acted: and the Queen's Pa-
 per was deliver'd, and never consider'd in order to return any
 Answer it.

WHEN the Committee had prepared such a Charge, which
 they called "an Impeachment of High Treason against *Charles*
 "Stewart King of *England*, digested into several Articles,
 "which contain'd all those Calumnies they had formerly
 R z heaped

heaped up in that Declaration of no more Addresses to be made to him, with some Additional Reproaches, it was read in the House; and, after it was approv'd there, they sent it to the House of Peers for Their concurrence. That House had very little to do from the time that *Cromwell* return'd from *Scotland*, and were few in Number, and us'd to Adjourn for two or three days together for want of business; so that it was believ'd, that they who had done so many extravagant things, rather than they would dissent from the House of Commons, would likewise concur with them in This, rather than sever from them when they were so triumphant. But, contrary to this expectation, when this Impeachment was brought up to the Peers, it was so ill receiv'd, that there was not one Person who concurr'd with them; which, considering the Men and what most of them had done, might seem very strange. And when they had, with some warmth reject'd it, they Adjourn'd for a week; presuming they should thereby at least give some interruption to that Career which the House of Commons was upon, and, in that time, some expedient might be found to reconcile the Proceedings in both Houses. But they were as much deceiv'd in this; the House of Commons was very well pleas'd with it, and thought they had given them ease, which they could not so well have contriv'd for themselves. So they proceeded in their own Method, and when the day came to which the Lords had Adjourn'd their House, they found their doors all locked, and fasten'd with Padlocks, that there should then be no more Entrance for them; nor did any of them ever after sit in that House as Peers above twice or thrice at most, till *Cromwell*, long after, endeavour'd in vain to have erected a House of Peers of his own Creation; in which some of them then very willingly took their places.

*Rejected by
the Lords;
who ad-
journ'd for
a week.*

*The Door of
their House
locked up a-
gainst the
day to which
they had ad-
journ'd.*

THE Charge and Accusation, upon which they resolv'd to proceed against the King, being thus settled and agreed upon, they begun to consider in what manner and form to proceed, that there might be some appearance of Justice. Nothing could be found in the Common or Statute-Law, which could direct or warrant them; nor could the Precedent of deposing *Richard* the second (the sole Precedent of that kind) be applied to their purpose: for, how foul soever the circumstances precedent had been, he had made a Resignation of his Royalty before the Lords in Parliament; so that his Deposition proceeded from Himself, and with his own Consent, and would not agree in any particular with the case in question. They were therefore to make a new form to warrant their Proceedings: and a new form they did erect, never before heard of. They constituted and erected a Court that should be called "*the High Court of Justice*, to consist of

*The Commons
constitute a
High Court
of Justice.*

"60

“so many Judges, who should have Authority to try the King,
 “whether he were guilty of what he was accused of, or no;
 “and, in order thereunto, to examine such Witnesses as
 “should be produced: The Number of the Judges named was
 about an hundred and fifty, whereof the Major part might
 proceed.

THEY could not have found such a Number yet amongst themselves, after so many barbarities and impieties, upon whom they might depend in this last Tragical Act. And therefore they laid this for a ground; that if they should make only their own Members to be Judges in this case, they might appear in the Eyes of the People to be too much parties, as having from the beginning maintain'd a War, though defensive, as they pretended, against the King; and so not so fit to be the only Judges who were in the fault: On the other hand, if they should name none of themselves, it might be interpreted that they look'd upon it as too dangerous a Province to engage themselves in, and therefore they had put it off to others; which would discourage others from undertaking it. Wherefore they resolv'd, that the Judges should be nominated promiscuously, as well of Members of the House, as of such other of their Good and Godly Men in the Kingdom. Whosoever would not be one himself when named, as there were yet many amongst them, who, out of Conscience, or of Fear, utterly protested against it, should take upon him to name another Man; which sure he could not but think was equally unlawful: So that few took upon them to nominate others, who would reject the Province themselves.

ALL the Chief Officers of the Army were named, and divers accepted the Office; and such Aldermen and Citizens of London, as had been most violent against Peace, and some few Country Gentlemen, whose Zeal had been taken notice of for the Cause, and who were like to take such a Preference as a testimony of the Parliament's Confidence in them, and would thereupon embrace it. When such a Number of Men were nominated as were thought in all respects to be equal to the work, they were to make choice of a Speaker, or Prolocutor, who should be called *Lord President* of that High Court, who must manage and govern all the proceedings there, ask the Witnesses all proper Questions, and answer what the Prisoner should propose. And to that Office *Bradshaw* was chosen, a Lawyer of *Grays-Inn*, not much known in *Westminster Hall*, though of good practice in his Chamber, and much employed by the Factious. He was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, but of a Fortune of his own making. He was not without Parts, and of great Insolence and Ambition. When he was

Lawyers and
other Officers
appointed.

first nominated, he seem'd much surpris'd, and very resolute to refuse it; which he did in such a manner, and so much enlarging upon his own want of Abilities to undergo so important a Charge, that it was very evident he had expected to be put to that Apology. And when he was press'd with more importunity than could have been used by chance, he required "time to consider of it; and said, "he would then give his final Answer; which he did, the next day; and with great Humility accepted the Office, which he administer'd with all the Pride, Impudence, and Superciliousness imaginable. He was presently invested in great State, and many Officers, and a Guard assign'd for the security of his Person, and the Dean's House at *Westminster* given to him for ever for his residence and habitation, and a good Sum of Money, about five thousand pounds, was appointed to be presently paid to him, to put himself in such an Equipage and way of Living, as the dignity of the Office which he held would require. And now, the Lord President of the High Court of Justice, seem'd to be the greatest Magistrate in *England*. And though it was not thought seasonable to make any such Declaration, yet some of those whose opinions grew quickly into Ordinances, upon several occasions, declared, "that they believ'd that Office was not to be look'd upon as "necessary *pro hac vice* only, but for continuance; and that "he who executed it, deserv'd to have an ample and a liberal "Estate conferr'd upon him for ever: which suddain mutation and exaltation of Fortune, could not but make a great impression upon a vulgar Spirit, accusom'd to no Excesses, and acquainted only with a very moderate Fortune. All this being done, they made choice of some Lawyers (till that time very obscure, and Men scarce known or heard of in their Profession) to perform the Offices of Attorney General, and Solicitor General for the State, to prosecute the Prisoner at his Trial, and to manage the Evidence against him. Other Officers, of all kinds, were appointed to attend, and perform the several Offices of their new Court; which was order'd to be erected in *Westminster Hall*.

h. b. At the King's leaving of his wife, he gave to ne of his friends a very curious Declaration of his private Desire of restoring Peace to his Kingdom in order to be published. if p. 143. in order to be printed in the Theatre he sent up the p. 143.

The King sent for from Hurst Castle by Harrison. The Character of Harrison. receiv'd by Colonel Harrison with a strong Party of Horse; by whom he was to be conducted to *Windsor Castle*. Harrison was the Son of a Butcher near *Nantwich* in *Cheshire*, and had been bred up in the place of a Clerk under a Lawyer of good Account in those parts; which kind of Education introduces Men into the language and practice of Business, and, if it be not resisted by the great ingenuity of the Person, inclines young Men to more Pride than any other kind of breeding; and disposes them to be Pragmatical and Insolent, though they

they have the Skill to conceal it from their Masters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cherish it. When the Rebellion first began, this Man quitted his Master (who had relation to the King's Service, and discharged his Duty faithfully) and put himself into the Parliament Army, where, having first obtain'd the Office of a Cornet, he got up, by diligence and sobriety, to the State of a Captain; without any signal notice taken of him till the new model of the Army; when *Cromwell*, who, possibly, had knowledge of him before, found him of a spirit and disposition fit for his Service, much given to Prayer and to Preaching, and, otherwise, of an understanding capable to be trusted in any business; to which his Clerkship contributed very much: And then he was preferr'd very fast; so that, by the time the King was brought to the Army, he had been a Colonel of Horse, and look'd upon as inferior to few, after *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, in the Council of Officers, and in the Government of the Agitators; and there were few Men with whom *Cromwell* more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the Conduct of any thing committed to him. He receiv'd the King with outward respect, kept himself bare; but attended him with great strictness; and was not to be approached by any Address; answering questions in short and few words, and when importuned, with rudeness. He manifested an apprehension that the King had some thought of making an Escape, and did all things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at *Windsor*, and so to pass by *Bagshot*, the King expressed a desire to see his little Park at *Bagshot*, and so to dine at the Lodge there, a place where he had used to take much pleasure; and did not dissemble the knowing that the Lord *Newburgh*, who had lately Married the Lady *Aubigny*, liv'd there; and said, "he would send a Servant to let that Lady know that he would dine with her, that she might provide a dinner for him. *Harri-son* well knew the Affection of that Lord and Lady, and was very unwilling he should make any stay there; but finding the King so fixt upon it, that he would not be otherwise removed from it than by absolutely refusing him to go thither, he chose to consent, and that his Majesty should send a Servant; which he did the Night before he intended to dine there.

BOTH Lord and Lady were of known Duty and Affection to the King; the Lady, after her Husband the Lord *Aubigny* had been kill'd at *Edge-bill*, having so far incensed the Parliament, that she had endured a long Imprisonment, under a suspicion that she had been privy to the design which had been discover'd by Mr *Waller*, upon which *Tomkins* and *Chal-loner* had been put to death, and had likewise her self been

R 4

put

put to death, if she had not made her Escape to *Oxford*. After the War was ended, she had, with the King's approbation, Married the Lord *Newburgh*; who had the same Affections. They had, from the time of the King's being at *Hampton Court*, concerted with his Majesty upon such means, that, in the strictest restraint he was under, they found a way to write to, and to hear from him. And most of the Letters which passed between the King and the Queen, passed through their hands; who had likewise a Cipher with the King, by which they gave him notice of any thing they judged of Importance for him to know. They had given him notice that he would be sent for from *Hurst Castle*, and advised him "to find some way, that he might dine at the Lodge at *Bagsbot*; and that he should take occasion, if he could, to lame the Horse he rode upon, or to find such fault with his going, that he might take another Horse out of the Lord *Newburgh's* Stables to continue the rest of his Journey upon. That Lord much delighted in Horses, and had, at that time, in his Stables one of the fleetest that was in *England*; and the purpose was, to mount the King upon that Horse, that, when he found a fit opportunity, he might, upon the suddain, set Spurs to him; and if he could get out of the Company that encompassed him, he might, possibly, by the swiftness of his Horse, and his own skill in the most obscure ways of that Forreast, convey himself to another place in their view; and so, three or four good Horses were laid in several places. And this was the reason that the King had so earnestly insisted upon dining at *Bagsbot*; which being in his way, and his custom being always to dine, they could not reasonably deny him that liberty.

BEFORE the King came thither, *Harrison* had sent some Horse with an Officer to search the House, and all about the Park, that he might be sure that no Company lurked, which might make some attempt. And the King, all the Morning, found fault with the going of his Horse; and said, "he would change it, and procure a better. When his Majesty came to the Lodge, he found his dinner ready, but was quickly informed, "that the Horse so much depended upon, was, the day before, by the blow of another Horse, so lam'd, that he could not be of use to the purpose he was design'd for. And though that Lord had other good Horses, which in such an exigent might be made use of, yet the King had observ'd so great difficulty to be in the attempt all his Journey, when he was encompassed always in the middle of a hundred Horse, the Officers all exceedingly well Horsed, and every Man, Officer, and Soldier, having a Pistol ready spann'd in one hand, that he resolv'd not to pursue that design. And *Harrison*

The King dines at the Lord Newburgh's; where was an intention of making the King's Escape, but in vain.

rifon had already told him, "that he had provided a better Horse for him: and it was believ'd he would never have permitted him to have made use of one of the Lord *Newburgh's*. So that after having spent three or four hours there, with very much satisfaction to himself, though he was not suffer'd to be in any Room without the Company of six or seven Soldiers, who suffer'd little to be spoken, except it was so loud that They could hear it too, he took a sad farewell of them, appearing to have little hope ever to see them again. The Lord *Newburgh* rode some miles into the Forrest to wait upon the King, till he was required by *Harrison* to return. His Majesty lodged that night at his Castle of *Windsor*, and was soon after carried to *St James's*. In this Journey, *Harrison* ^{The King brought to} observing that the King had always an apprehension that there was a purpose to Murder him, and had once let fall some words of "the odiousness and wickedness of such an Assassination and Murder, which could never be safe to the Person who undertook it; he told him plainly, "that he need-
"ed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension; "that the Parliament had too much Honour and Justice to cherish so foul an intention; and assured Him, "that whatever the Parliament resolv'd to do, would be very Publick, "and in a way of Justice; to which the World should be "Witness; and never would endure a thought of secret Violence: which his Majesty could not persuade himself to believe; nor did imagine that they durst ever produce him in the sight of the People, under any form whatsoever of a publick Trial.

It hath been acknowledg'd since by some Officers, and ^{The several} others who were present at the Consultations, that from the ^{time of the King's being at Hampton Court, and after the} time of the King's being at *Hampton Court*, and after the ^{tions, before} Army had master'd both the Parliament and the City, and ^{and after} were weary of having the King with them, and knew not ^{this time,} well how to be rid of him, there were many secret Consults ^{among the} what to do with him. And it was generally concluded, ^{Officers,} "they should never be able to settle their new form of Government, whilst He liv'd: and after he was become a Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, they were more solicitous for a Resolution and Determination in that particular: and after the Vote of no more Addresses, the most violent Party thought "they could do nothing in order to their own ends, till He "should be first dead; and therefore, one way or other, that "was to be compassed in the first place. Some were for "an actual Depositing him; which could not but be easily brought "to pass, since the Parliament would Vote any thing they "should be directed: Others were for the taking away his "Life by Poyson; which would make least noise; or, "if that "could

“could not be so easily contriv’d, by Assassination; for which
 “there were hands enough ready to be employ’d. There was
 a Third sort, as violent as either of the other, who press’d
 “to have him brought to a publick Trial as a Malefactor;
 which, they said, “would be most for the Honour of the
 “Parliament, and would teach all Kings to know, that they
 “were accountable, and punishable for the wickedness of their
 “Lives.

MANY of the Officers were of the first opinion, “as a
 “thing they had Precedents for; and that he being once De-
 pos’d, they could better settle the Government than if he
 “were dead; for his Son could pretend no Right whilst He
 “was alive; whereas, if the Father were dead, he would
 “presently call himself King, and others would call him so
 “too; and, it may be, other Kings and Princes would own
 “him for such. If he were kept alive in a close Prison, he
 “might afterwards be made use of, or remov’d upon any ap-
 pearance of a Revolution.

THERE were as many Officers of the second Judgement,
 “that he should be presently dispatched. They said, “it ap-
 pear’d by the experience they had, that whilst He was alive
 “(for a more strict Imprisonment than he had undergone, he
 “could never be confined to) there would be always Plots
 “and Designs to set him at Liberty; and he would have Parties
 “throughout the Kingdom; and, in a short time, a Faction
 “in their most secret Councils, and it may be in the Army it
 “self; and, where his Liberty would yield so great a Price, it
 “would be too great a Trust to repose in any Man, that he
 “would long resist the Temptation. Whereas, if he were
 “confessedly dead, all those fears would be over; especially
 “if they proceeded with that circumspection and severity to-
 wards all his Party, as in prudence they ought to do. This
 Party might probably have carried it, if *Hammond* could have
 been wrought upon to have concurr’d; but he had yet too
 much Conscience to expose himself to that Infamy; and with-
 out Hisprivity or connivance it could not be done.

THE third Party, which were all the Levellers and Agi-
 tators of the Army, in the head of which *Iretton* and *Harrison*
 were, would not endure either of the other ways; and said,
 “they could as easily bring him to Justice in the sight of the
 “Sun, as Depose him; since the Authority of the Parliament
 “could do one as well as the other: That their Precedent of
 “Deposing, had no reputation with the People; but was
 “looked upon as the effect of some potent Faction, which
 “always oppress’d the People more after, than they had been
 “before. Besides, those Deposings had always been attended
 “with Assassinations and Murthers, which were the more
 “odious

“ odious, and detested, because no body own’d and avow’d
 “ the bloody Actions they had done. But if he were brought
 “ to a publick Trial, for the notorious ill things he had done,
 “ and for his Misgovernment, upon the complaint and profes-
 “ cution of the People, the Superiority of the People would
 “ be hereby vindicated and made manifest; and They should
 “ receive the benefit, and be for ever free from those oppres-
 “ sions which he had impos’d upon them, and for which he
 “ ought to pay so dear; and such an exemplary Proceeding
 “ and Execution as this, where every circumstance should be
 “ clear and notorious, would be the best foundation and se-
 “ curity of the Government they intended to establish; and
 “ no Man would be Ambitious to succeed Him, and be a King
 “ in his place, when he saw in what manner he must be ac-
 “ countable to the People. This Argumentation, or the strength and obstinacy of that Party, carried it: and here-
 upon, all that formality of proceeding, which afterwards was
 exercised, was resolv’d upon and consented to. *Concluded to have him publicly tried.*

WHETHER the incredibility, or monstrousness of such a kind of proceeding, wrought upon the minds of Men, or whether the principal Actors took pains, by their Insinuations, to have it so believ’d, it fell out however that they among them who wish’d the King best, and stood nearest to the Stage where these parts were Acted, did not believe that there were those Horrid Intentions that shortly after appear’d. The Preachers, who had sounded the Trumpets loudest to, and throughout the War, Preached now as furiously against all wicked Attempts and Violence against the Person of the King, and foolishly urged the obligation of the Covenant (by which they had involv’d him in all the danger he was in) for the security of his Person.

AS SOON as the Prince heard of the King’s being carried by *Harrison* to *Windſor*, and from thence to *St James’s*, though he had lately sent a Servant on purpose to see his Majesty, and to bring him an Account of the State he was in, which Servant was not permitted to see him, he sent now another with a Letter to *Fairfax* and the Council of War (for he knew the Parliament had no Authority) in which he told them, “ that
 “ he had no other means to be inform’d of the health and
 “ condition of the King his Royal Father, but by the Com-
 “ mon Prints, and general Intelligences that arriv’d in those
 “ Parts: He had reason by those to believe, that after the ex-
 “ piration of the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight* (where he hoped
 “ the foundation for a happy Peace had been laid) his Majesty
 “ had been carried to *Hurst* Castle; and since, by some Officers
 “ of the Army, to *Windſor*, not without purpose of a more
 “ violent prosecution; the rumour whereof, though of so
 “ mon-
The Prince sends a Letter to Fairfax and the Council of War:

"monstrous and incredible a Nature, had called upon his
 "Piety to make this Address to them ; who had at this time
 "the power to choose, whether they would raise lasting Mo-
 "numents to themselves of Loyalty and Piety, by restoring
 "their Sovereign to his just Rights, and their Country to
 "Peace and Happiness, a Glory which had been seldom ab-
 "solutely vouchsafed to so small a number of Men, or to make
 "themselves the Authors of endless Misery to the Kingdom,
 "by contributing or consenting to an Act which all Christi-
 "ans, into how different opinions soever divided, must ab-
 "hor as the most inconsistent with the Elements of any Re-
 "ligion, and destructive to the Security and being of any
 "kind of Government : He did therefore earnestly desire and
 "conjure them, sadly to consider the vast and prodigious dis-
 "proportion in that Election ; and then, he said, "he could
 "not doubt but that they would choose to do that which is
 "most Just, Safe, and Honourable for them to do ; make them-
 "selves the blest Instruments to Preserve, Defend, and Restore
 "their King ; to whom only their Allegiance was due ; by
 "which every one of them might justly promise to themselves
 "peace of Conscience, the singular good Will and Favour of
 "his Majesty, the ample thanks and acknowledgement of all
 "good Men, and the particular and unalterable Affection of
 "the Prince himself. This Letter was, with much ado, deli-
 "ver'd into the hands of *Fairfax* himself ; but the Messenger
 "could never be admitted to speak with him ; nor was there
 "more known, than that it was read in the Council of War,
 "and laid aside.

Which was
 read in the
 Council of
 war, and
 laid aside.

FROM the time of the King's being come to *St James's*,
 when he was deliver'd into the hands and custody of Colonel
Tomlinson, a Colonel of Foot, though the Officer seem'd to
 be a Man of a better breeding, and of a Nature more Civil
 than *Harrison*, and pretended to pay much Respect and Duty
 to the King in his outward Demeanour, yet his Majesty, after
 a short time, was treated with more Rudeness and Barbarity
 than he had ever been before. They were so jealous of their
 own Guards, lest they should be wrought upon by the influ-
 "ence of this Innocent Prince, or by the remorse of their own
 Conscience upon the exercise of so much Barbarity, that
 they caus'd the Guards to be still changed ; and the same
 Men were never suffer'd twice to perform the same monstrous
 Duty.

He is brought
 to West-
 minster
 Hall, Jan.
 30.

WHEN He was first brought to *Westminster Hall*, which
 was upon the twentieth of *January*, before their *High Court*
of Justice, he looked upon them, and sat down, without any
 manifestation of trouble, never stirring his Hat ; all the im-
 pudent Judges sitting cover'd, and fixing their Eyes upon him,
 without

without the least shew of respect. The odious Libel, which The Sum of
his Charge. they called a Charge and Impeachment, was then read by the Clerk; which, in effect, contain'd, "that he had been admitted King of *England*, and trusted with a limited Power to Govern according to Law; and, by his Oath and Office, "was obliged to use the Power committed to him for the good and benefit of the People; but that he had, out of a wicked design to erect to himself an Illimited and Tyrannical Power, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the People, Trayterously levied War against the present Parliament, and the People therein represented. And then it mention'd his first appearance at *Tork* with a Guard, then his being at *Beverly*, then his setting up his Standard at *Nottingham*, the day of the Month and the Year in which the Battle had been at *Edge-hill*, and all the other several Battles which had been fought in his Presence; in which, it said, "He had caused and procured many thousands of the Free-born People of the Nation to be slain: that after all his Forces had been defeated, and Himself become a Prisoner, he had, "in that very year, caused many Insurrections to be made in *England*, and given a Commission to the Prince his Son to raise a new War against the Parliament; whereby many who were in their Service, and trusted by them, had revolted, broken their Trust, and betook themselves to the Service of the Prince against the Parliament and the People: that he had been the Author and Contriver of the unnatural, cruel, and bloody Wars; and was therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, and Spoils, Desolations, Damage, and Mischief to the Nation, which had been committed in the said War, or been occasion'd thereby; and that he was therefore impeached for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of the People of *England*, as a Tyrant, Traytor, and Murtherer, and a publick implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of *England*. And it was prayed, "that he might be put to Answer to all the particulars, to the end that such an Examination, Trial, and judgement, might be had thereupon, as should be agreeable to Justice.

WHICH being read, their President *Bradshaw*, after he had insolently reprehended the King "for not having shew'd more respect to that High Tribunal, told him, "that the Parliament of *England* had appointed that Court to try him "for the several Treasons, and Misdemeanours, which he had committed against the Kingdom during the evil Administration of his Government; and that, upon the Examination thereof, Justice might be done. And, after a great sawciness and impudence of talk, he asked the King, "what Answer he had to make to that Impeachment. what passed
the first day
of his Trial.

THE

THE King, without any alteration in his Countenance by all that insolent provocation, told them, "he would first know of them, by what Authority they presumed by force to bring him before them, and who gave them power to judge of his Actions, for which he was accountable to none but God; though they had been always such as he need not be alhamed to own them before all the world. He told them, that He was their King, They his Subjects; who owed him Duty and Obedience; that no Parliament had Authority to call him before them; but that They were not the Parliament, nor had any Authority from the Parliament to sit in that manner: That of all the Persons who sat there, and took upon them to judge him, except those Persons who being Officers of the Army he could not but know whilst he was forced to be amongst them, there were only two Faces which he had ever seen before, or whose names were known to him. And, after urging "their Duty, that was due to him, and his Superiority over them, by such lively Reasons, and Arguments, as were not capable of any answer, he concluded, "that he would not so much betray himself, and his Royal Dignity, as to Answer anything they objected against him, which were to acknowledge their Authority; though he believ'd that every one of themselves, as well as the Spectators, did, in their own Consciences, absolve him from all the Material things which were objected against him.

BRADSHAW advised him, in a very arrogant manner, "not to deceive himself with an opinion that any thing he had said would do him any good: that the Parliament knew their own Authority, and would not suffer it to be called in question or debated: therefore required him, "to think better of it, against he should be next brought thither, and that he would Answer directly to his Charge; otherwise, he could not be so ignorant, as not to know what Judgement the Law pronounced against those who stood Mute, and obstinately refused to plead. So the Guard carried his Majesty back to St James's; where they treated him as before.

*Disturbance
in the Court
by the Lady
Fairfax the
General's
wife.*

THERE was an accident happen'd that first day, which may be fit to be remember'd. When all those who were Commissioners had taken their places, and the King was brought in, the first ceremony was, to read their Commission; which was the Ordinance of Parliament for the Trial; and then the Judges were all called, every Man answering to his name as he was called, and the President being first called and making Answer, the next who was called being the General, Lord Fairfax, and no Answer being made, the Officer called him the second time, when there was a voice heard that

that said, " he had more Wit than to be there ; which put the Court into some disorder, and some body asking, who it was, there was no other Answer but a little murmuring. But, presently, when the Impeachment was read, and that expression used, of " All the good People of *England*, the same voice in a louder tone, Answer'd, " No, nor the hundredth part of " them : upon which, one of the Officers bid the Soldiers give fire into that Box whence those presumptuous words were utter'd. But it was quickly discern'd that it was the General's Wife, the Lady *Fairfax*, who had utter'd both those sharp sayings ; who was presently perswaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new disorder. She was of a very noble Extraction, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury* ; who, having been bred in *Holland*, had not that reverence for the Church of *England*, as she ought to have had, and so had unhappily concurr'd in her Husband's entring into Rebellion, never imagining what misery it would bring upon the Kingdom ; and now abhorr'd the work in hand as much as any Body could do, and did all she could to hinder her Husband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever fit in that bloody Court, though he was throughout overwitted by *Cromwell*, and made a property to bring that to pass which could very hardly have been otherwise effected.

As there was in many Persons present at that woeful Spectacle a real Duty and Compassion for the King, so there was in others so barbarous and brutal a behaviour towards him, that they called him Tyrant, and Murtherer ; and one spit in his Face ; which his Majesty, without expressing any trouble, wiped off with his Handkerchief.

THE two Men who were only known to the King before *Sr H. Mild-* the Troubles, were *Sr Harry Mildmay*, Master of the King's ^{may and Sr} Jewel House, who had been bred up in the Court, being ^{John Dan-} younger Brother of a good Family in *Essex*, and who had been ^{vers the en-} prosecuted with so great Favours and Bounties by King *James*, ^{two Persons} and by his Majesty, that he was raised by them to a great ^{the King} Estate, and prefer'd to that Office in his House, which is ^{known besides} the best under those which entitle the Officers to be of the privy ^{the Officers of} Council. No Man more obsequious to the Court than He, whilst it flourish'd ; a great flatterer of all Persons in Authority, and a Spy in all places for them. From the beginning of the Parliament, he concurr'd with those who were most violent against the Court, and most like to prevail against it ; and being thereupon branded with ingratitude, as that brand commonly makes Men most impudent, he continued his desperate pace with them, till he became one of the Murtherers of his Master. The other was *Sr John Danvers*, the younger Brother and Heir of the Earl of *Danby*, who was a Gentleman of

of the Privy Chamber to the King, and being neglected by his Brother, and having, by a vain Expence in his way of living, contracted a vast debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud formal weak Man, between being seduced and a Seducer, became so far involv'd in their Counsels that he suffer'd himself to be applied to their worst Offices, taking it to be a high honour to sit upon the same Bench with *Cromwell*, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that Party of Miscreants, look upon any two Men in the Kingdom with that scorn and detestation as they did upon *Danvers* and *Mildmay*.

THE several unheard of insolencies which this excellent Prince was forced to submit to, at the other times he was brought before that odious Judicatory, his Majestick behaviour, and resolute insisting upon his own dignity, and defending it by manifest Authorities in the Law, as well as by the clearest deductions from Reason, the pronouncing that horrible sentence upon the most innocent Person in the world, the Execution of that Sentence by the most execrable Murderer that was ever committed since that of our Blessed Saviour; and the circumstances thereof; the Application and Interposition that was used by some noble Persons to prevent that woe-ful Murder, and the hypocrisy with which that interposition was eluded, the Saint-like behaviour of that Blessed Martyr, and his Christian courage and patience at his death, are all particulars so well known, and have been so much enlarged upon in a Treatise peculiarly writ to that purpose, that the farther mentioning it in this place would but afflict and grieve the Reader, and make the Relation it self odious as well as needless; and therefore no more shall be said here of that deplorable Tragedy, so much to the dishonour of the Nation, and the Religion professed by it, though undeservedly.

BUT it will not be unnecessary to add a short Character of his Person, that Posterity may know the inestimable loss which the Nation then underwent, in being depriv'd of a Prince whose example would have had a greater influence upon the manners, and piety of the Nation, than the most strict Laws can have. To speak first of his private Qualifications as a Man, before the mention of his Princely and Royal Virtues; He was, if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an Honest Man; so great a lover of Justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful Action, except it was so disguised to him that he believ'd it to be just. He had a tenderness and compassion of Nature, which restrain'd him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing: and therefore he was so apt to grant pardon to Malefactors, that the Judges of the Law represented to him the damage and insecurity to the Publick,

n. 3 After *Rich.*
had been twice
brought before
the Court. He scatch
Commissions made
a Protestation as if
hecht. in p. p. 281.

A Summary
passing over
the rest of the
King's Tri-

His Chara-
cter.

His Justice
and Mercy.

that flowed from such his Indulgence. And then he restrain'd himself from pardoning either Murthers, or High way Robberies, and quickly discern'd the fruits of his severity by a wonderful Reformation of those Enormities. He was very *His Devotion* punctual and regular in his Devotions; he was never known *on and Religion* to enter upon his Recreations or Sports, though never so early in the Morning, before he had been at Publick Prayers; so that on Hunting days his Chaplains were bound to a very early Attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private Cabinet Devotion; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of Religion, that he could never endure any light or prophane word, with what sharpness of Wit soever it was cover'd: and though he was well pleas'd, and delighted with reading Verses made upon any occasion, no Man durst bring before him any thing that was prophane or unclean. That kind of Wit had never any Countenance then. He was so great an Example of Conju- *His Conjugal* gal Affection, that they who did not imitate him in that par- *Chastity* ticular, durst not brag of their Liberty: and he did not only permit, but direct his Bishops, to prosecute those scandalous Vices, in the Ecclesiastical Courts, against Persons of eminence, and near Relation to his Service.

His Kingly Virtues had some mixture and alloy, that hindered them from shining in full Lustre, and from producing those Fruits they should have been attended with. He was *He was not* not in his Nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. *very bounti-* This appear'd more after the Duke of *Buckingham's* death, af- *ful* ter which those showres fell very rarely; and he paused too long in giving, which made those to whom he gave, less sensible of the benefit. He kept state to the full, which made *He kept State* his Court very orderly; no Man presuming to be seen in a *in his Court* place where he had no pretence to be. He saw, and observ'd Men long, before he receiv'd them about his Person; and did not love Strangers, nor very confident Men. He was a patient *Patient in* hearer of Causes; which he frequently accustom'd himself to *hearing* at the Council Board; and judg'd very well, and was dextrous *Causet* in the mediating part: so that he often put an end to Causes by perswasion, which the stubbornness of Men's humours made dilatory in Courts of Justice.

He was very fearless in his Person; but, in his riper years, *Fearless, not* not very Enterprising. He had an excellent understanding, *Enterprising* but was not confident enough of it; which made him often times change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the ad- *Not confident* vice of Men that did not judge so well as himself. This made *in his own* him more irresolute than the conjuncture of his Affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more imperious Nature, he would have found more respect and Duty. And

his not applying some severe cures to approaching Evils, proceeded from the Lenity of his Nature, and the tenderness of his Conscience, which, in all cases of Blood, made him choose the softer way, and not hearken to severe Counsels, how reasonably soever urged. This only restrain'd him from pursuing his advantage in the first *Scottish* Expedition, when, humanly speaking, he might have reduced that Nation to the most entire obedience that could have been wished. But no Man can say he had then many who advised him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indisposition all his Council had to the War, or any other Fatigue. He was always a great Lover of the *Scottish* Nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that People, and besieged by them always, having few *English* about him till he was King; and the major number of his Servants being still of that Nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among these, no Man had such an Ascendent over him, by the humblest insinuations, as Duke *Hamilton* had.

As he excelled in all other Virtues, so in Temperance he was so strict, that he abhor'd all Debauchery to that degree, that, at a great Festival Solemnity, where he once was, when very many of the Nobility of the *English* and *Scots* were entertain'd, being told by one who withdrew from thence, what vast draughts of Wine they drank, and "that there was one Earl, who had drank most of the rest down, and was not himself moved or alter'd, the King said, "that he deserv'd to be hanged; and that Earl coming shortly after into the Room where his Majesty was, in some gayety, to shew how unhurt he was from that Battle, the King sent one to bid him withdraw from his Majesty's Presence; nor did he in some days after appear before him.

So many miraculous Circumstances contributed to his Ruine, that Men might well think that Heaven and Earth conspired it. Though he was, from the first Declension of his Power, so much betrayed by his own Servants, that there were very few who remain'd faithful to him, yet that Treachery proceeded not always from any Treasonable purpose to do Him any harm, but from particular, and personal Animofities against other Men. And, afterwards, the terror all Men were under of the Parliament, and the guilt they were conscious of themselves, made them watch all opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good; and so they became spies upon their Master, and from one piece of knavery were harden'd and confirm'd to undertake another; till at last they had no hope of preservation but by the Destruction of their Master. And after all this, when a Man might reasonably believe that less than a universal De-

fection of three Nations, could not have reduced a great King to so ugly a fate, it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly Murther'd in the sight of the Sun, he had as great a share in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general, was as much belov'd, esteem'd, and longed for by the People in general of the three Nations, as any of his Predecessors had ever been. To conclude, He was the worthiest Gentleman, the best Master, the best Friend, the best Husband, the best Father, and the best Christian, that the Age in which he liv'd produced. And if he were not the greatest King, if he were without some Parts and Qualities which have made some Kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy who was possess'd of half his Virtues and Endowments, and so much without any kind of Vice.

THIS unparallel'd Murther and Parricide was committed upon the thirtieth of *January*, in the Year, according to the Account us'd in *England*, 1648, in the forty and ninth year of his Age, and when he had such excellent health, and so great Vigour of Body, that when his Murtherers caus'd him to be open'd (which they did; and were some of them present at it with great curiosity) they confess'd, and declared, "that no Man had ever all his vital parts so perfect and unhurt: and that he seem'd to be of so admirable a composition and constitution, that he would probably have liv'd as long as nature could subsist. His Body was immediately carried into a Room at *White-Hall*; where he was expos'd for many days to the publick view, that all Men might know that he was not alive. And he was then imbalmd, and put into a Coffin, and so carried to *St James's*; where he likewise remain'd several days. They who were qualified to order his Funeral, declared, "that he should be buried at *Windfor* in a decent manner, provided that the whole Expence should not exceed five hundred pounds. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, who had been of his Bed-Chamber, and always very faithful to him, desired those that govern'd, "that they might have leave to perform the last duty to their dead Master, and to wait upon him to his Grave; which, after some pauses, they were permitted to do, with this, "that they should not attend the Corps out of the Town; since they resolv'd it should be privately carried to *Windfor* without Pomp or noise, and then they should have timely notice, that if they pleas'd, they might be at his interment. And accordingly it was committed to four of those Servants, who had been by them appointed to wait upon him during his Imprisonment, that they should convey the Body to *Windfor*; which they did. And it was, that Night, placed in that Chamber which had

usually been his Bed-Chamber : the next Morning, it was carried into the great Hall ; where it remain'd till the Lords came ; who arriv'd there in the Afternoon, and immediately went to Colonel *Whitlock*, the Governour of the Castle, and shew'd the Order they had from the Parliament to be present at the Burial ; which he admitted ; but when they desired that his Majesty might be Buried according to the Form of the Common-Prayer Book, the Bishop of *London* being present with them to Officiate, he positively and roughly refused to consent to it ; and said, " it was not Lawful ; that the Common-Prayer Book was put down, and he would not suffer " it to be used in that Garrison where He Commanded ; nor could all the Reasons, Perswasions, and Entreaties, prevail with him to suffer it. Then they went into the Church, to make choice of a place for Burial. But when they enter'd into it, which they had been so well acquainted with, they found it so alter'd and transform'd, all Incriptions, and those Land-Marks pulled down, by which all Men knew every particular place in That Church, and such a dismal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were : nor was there one old Officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our Princes had used to be interr'd. At last there was a Fellow of the Town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he said, " there was a Vault, in which King *Harry* the Eighth " and Queen *Jane Seymour* were interr'd. As near that place as could conveniently be, they caused the Grave to be made. There the King's Body was laid without any words, or other Ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders. Upon the Coffin was a plate of Silver fixt with these words only, *King Charles* 1648. When the Coffin was put in, the black Velvet Pall that had cover'd it was thrown over it, and then the Earth thrown in ; which the Governour stayed to see perfectly done, and then took the Keys of the Church.

I HAVE been the longer, and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occasion to mention what fell out long after, and which administer'd a Subject of much discourse ; in which, according to the several humours and fancies of Men, they who were in nearest Credit and Trust about the King, underwent many very severe Censures and Reproaches, not without reflection upon the King himself. Upon the Return of King *Charles* the Second with so much Congratulation, and universal Joy of the People, above ten Years after the Murder of his Father, it was generally expected that the Body should be remov'd from that obscure Burial, and, with such Ceremony as should be thought fit, should be solemnly deposited with his Royal Ancestors in King *Harry* the Seventh's Chapel in the Collegiate Church of

§

Westmin-

Westminster. And the King himself intended nothing more, and spoke often of it, as if it were only deferr'd till some Circumstances and Ceremonies in the doing it might be adjusted. But, by degrees, the discourse of it was diminished, as if it were totally laid aside upon some reasons of State, the ground whereof several Men guessed at according to their fancies, and thereupon cast those Reproaches upon the States-men as they thought reasonable, when the reasons which were suggested by their own imaginations, did not satisfy their understanding. For the satisfaction and information of all Men, I choose in this place to explain that matter; which, it may be, is not known to many; and at that time was not, for many reasons, thought fit to be published. The Duke of *Richmond* was dead before the King return'd; the Marquis of *Hartford* died in a short time after, and was folden out of his Lodging after his Majesty came to *White-Hall*: the Earl of *Southampton* and the Earl of *Lindsey* went to *Windser*, and took with them such of their own Servants as had attended them in that Service, and as many others as they remember'd had been then present, and were still alive; who all amounted to a small Number; there being, at the time of the Interment, great strictness used in admitting any to be present whose Names were not included in the Order which the Lords had brought. In a word, the confusion they had at that time observ'd to be in that Church, and the small alterations which were begun to be made towards Decency, so totally perplexed their Memories, that they could not satisfy themselves in what place, or part of the Church the Royal Body was Interr'd: Yet, where any concurr'd upon this, or that place, they caused the ground to be open'd at a good distance, and, upon such Enquiries, found no Cause to believe that they were near the place: And, upon their giving this Account to the King, the thought of that remove was laid aside; and the reason communicated to very few, for the better discountenancing farther Enquiry.

THOUGH this wicked and abominable Action had to a degree satisfied their Malice, it had not enough provided for their Ambition or Security. They had no sooner freed themselves from one, than another King was grown up in his place. And besides the old Royal Party, which continued still vigorous, notwithstanding their loss of so much Blood; and (which weakens almost as much) of so great Estates, they did apprehend that there were in the vast number of the guilty (who quietly looked on upon the removal of the old, whom they had so grievously offended) who would yet be very willing to submit, and be obedient to the new King; who was like to find more Friends abroad, as well as at home, than

his Father had done. And therefore they made hast to prevent this threatening evil, by publishing a Proclamation, "that no Person whatsoever should presume to declare *Charles Stuart*, Son of the late *Charles*, commonly call'd the Prince of *Wales*, or any other Person, to be King, or Chief Magistrate of *England*, or *Ireland*, or of any Dominions belonging therunto, by colour of Inheritance, Succession, Election, or any other Claim whatsoever; and that whoever, contrary to this Act, presume to proclaim or should be deem'd and adjudged a Traytor, and suffer accordingly.

Proclamation against
proclaiming
Charles
Stuart-King

In the next place, that their Infant Republick might be Nursed, Cherished, and brought up by those only who had gotten and brought it forth, they resolv'd to take away and abolish the House of Peers, and Voted, "that they would make no farther Addresses to the House of Lords, nor receive any more from them: That the House of Peers, in Parliament, was useless and dangerous; and that an Act should be brought in for abolishing it: That the Privilege of the Peers of being freed from Arrests, should be declared null and void; all which was done within few days. However, they declared, "that the Peers should have the Privilege to be elected Knights, or Burgeses; of which gracious Concession some of them took the benefit soon after, and sat, upon their Election into vacant places, in the House of Commons.

The Commons abolish
the House
of Peers.

THERE remain'd yet another provision to be made against their own Ambition; for it was well known, that there were yet amongst them many who were not equally fond of a Common wealth; and therefore they declared, "that it had been found by experience, that the Office of a King in this Nation, or to have the Power thereof in any single Person, was unnecessary, burthenfom, and dangerous to the Liberty, and Safety, and Publick Interest of the Nation; and therefore that it should be utterly abolished; and to that purpose an Act should be forthwith prepared: which was likewise done, and passed. And by this Triple Cord they believ'd their Republick would be strongly compacted, and sufficiently provided for.

Vote against
the Office of
Kingship.

They make a
new Great
Seal.

THEIR new Great Seal was by this time ready; whereon was Engraven, on one side, the Armes of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inscription, *The Great Seal of England*; and on the other side the Portraiture of the House of Commons Sitting, circumscribed, *In the first Year of Freedom by God's blessing record'd*, 1648. The Custody of this Great Seal was committed to three Lawyers, whereof one had sat among the King's Judges, and the others had contributed too much to their

1648 March 27 1649

MS. is preserved in English in
Latin in a book extant in the library of the University of Oxford supra p. 243.

h. B. An Edict or Proclamation for that purpose was ~~made~~ on Monday the
19th day before the King was beheaded order to be printed & immediately
published & it was publicly proclaimed by some of his Majesty's
Council of State THE REBELLION, &c. is a copy of it sent over to the
their Service: All things being now in this good Order, they
sent for their Judges, to agree upon the formality and circum-
stances of Proceedings. For it was declared by the Parlia-
ment, "that they were fully resolv'd to maintain, and up-
"hold the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, in order to the
"preservation of the Lives, Property, and Liberty of the Peo-
"ple, notwithstanding all the alterations made in the Govern-
"ment for the good of the People: And the Writs were no
more to run in the King's Name, as they had always done,
but the Name, Style, and Test, to be *Custodes Libertatis An-
glie, Auctoritate Parliamenti*. If it were not a thing so no-
toriously known, it could not be believ'd, that of twelve
Judges, whereof ten were of their own making, and the other
two had quietly submitted, from the beginning of the War, to the Authority that govern'd, fix laid down their places,
and could not give themselves leave to accept Commissions
from the new Established Power. So again and fantastical a
thing is the Conscience of Men who have once departed from
the Rule of Conscience, in hope to be permitted to adhere to
it again upon a less pressing occasion.

It will be requisite, at least it may not be unfit, to rest and
make a pause in this place, to take a view, with what Coun-
tenance the Kings and Princes of *Christendom* had their Eyes
fixed upon this sad and bloody Spectacle; how they looked up-
on that issue of Blood, at which their own seem'd to be so
prodigally poured out; with what consternation their Hearts
labour'd to see the Impious Hands of the lowest and basest
Subjects bething in the Bowels, and reeking Blood of their
Sovereign; a Brother King, the Anointed of the Lord, dis-
member'd as a Malefactor; what Combination, and Union
was enter'd into, to take vengeance upon those Monsters,
and to vindicate the Royal Blood thus wickedly spilt. Alas!
there was scarce a murmur amongst any of them at it; but, as
if they had been all called upon in the Language of the Pro-
phet *Isaiab*, *Go, ye swift Messengers, to a Nation scattered, and
peeled, to a People terrible from the beginning hitherto, to a
Nation meted out, and trodden down, whose Lands the Rivers
have spoiled, they made hast, and sent over, that they might
get shares in the Spoils of a Murdered Monarch.*

CARDINAL *Mazarin*, who, in the Infancy of the French
King, managed that Scepter, had long adored the Conduct of
Cromwell, and fought his Friendship by a lower and viler ap-
plication than was suitable to the Purple of a Cardinal, sent
now to be admitted as a Merchant to traffick in the purchase
of the rich Goods and Jewels of the rifled Crown, of which
he purchased the rich Beds, Hangings, and Carpets, which
furnish'd his Palace at *Paris*. The King of *Spain* had, from

THE HISTORY Book XI.

WHILST these perfidious wretches had their hands still reeking in the precious Blood of their Sovereign, they were put upon a new piece of Butchery, as necessary to the Establishment of their new Tyranny. The King was no sooner dead, but they declared, as hath been said, "that from this time *England* should be govern'd as a Common-wealth by the Parliament; that is, by that handful of Men, who by their Wisdom and Power had wrought this wonderful alteration. And because the number of those appear'd very small, and the number of those they had excluded was as visible, they made an Order and Declaration, "that as many of the Members who had been excluded, as would under their hands approve all that had been done during the time they were excluded, should return to their Seats in the House without any prejudice for the future. Hereupon divers went again into the House, satisfying themselves that they were not guilty

guilty of the Innocent Royal Blood that had been spilt; and so their number increased. They had made a new Great Seal, as hath been said, and called the Commissioners, who were entrusted with the keeping thereof, *The Keepers of the Liberties of England*. And the Court of King's Bench they called the *Upper Bench*, and appointed certain Persons to consider of such alterations as were necessary to be made in the Laws of England; in regard of so important a mutation. That they might have some obligation of Obedience from their Subjects for the future, who had broken all the former Oaths which they had taken; a new Oath was prepared and established, which they called an *Engagement*; the form whereof was, that every Man should swear, "that he would be true and faithful to the Government established without King or House of Peers: and whosoever refused to take that Engagement should be incapable of holding any Place, or Office in Church or State. The necessity of taking which Oath did not only exclude all of the Royal Party, but freed them from very many who had Offices in Church and State; who, being of the Presbyterian Party, durst not sacrifice their beloved Covenant to this new Engagement. And so they filled many considerable Places both in the one, and the other, with Men thoroughly prepared for their Service. But before they could model and finish all this, and whilst it was preparing, they had, in several parts of the Kingdom, terrified the People with Blood-Spectacles, in the executing many of the Persons who had been taken. And that all hopes and pretences might be taken away from their Subjects, the Peers of England, that they should hereafter have any thing to do in declaring what the fundamental Laws of the Land were, a new High Court of Justice was appointed to sit for the Trial of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, and another Gentleman, one *St. John Owen* (who, having been heretofore a Colonel in the King's Army, had, in a late Insurrection in Wales, killed the High Sheriff) that they might see there should hereafter be no more distinction of Quality in Trials for Life, but that the greatest Lord and the Commoners should undergo the same judicatory, and form of Trial. Nor could it be thought unreasonable, that all the Creations of the Crown should be determin'd by that jurisdiction to which the Crown it self had been subjected.

DUKE Hamilton could not well be thought other than a Duke Hamilton first Prisoner of War, and so not liable to a Trial for his Life. He had attempted to make an Escape; in which he had so well succeeded, that he was out of his Enemies hands full three days; but, being impatient to be at a greater distance from them, he was apprehended as he was taking Horse in Southwark;

To vindicate his new form of Government, many Treaties were made at 11/1000 after his line, a list of some of 11/1000, at end of his Vol.

with/ah/ing is a great concern
 under of H. Chas. & a letter
 14. 2. 1649 particularly by
 0.3 69 B. XIII. as 264
 Lewis by 4. 1649
 Holland & 4. 1649
 4. 275, 6.

HISTORY Book XI.

ed Prisoner into the Tower; from whence
 in the others, before that High Court of
 upon "the Right and Privilege of the
 ; that it had not the least Dependence
 of *England*, but was entirely Govern'd
 that He, being a Subject of that King-
 to obey the Commands thereof; and the
 Kingdom having thought it necessary to
 the relief of their King, and constituted
 that Army, it was not lawful for him to
 and thereof; and whatever misfortune he
 with it, he could not be understood to be
 punishment but what a Prisoner of War was
 to. He was told, "that the Rights and

dom of *Scotland* were not called in Que-
 stion, nor could be violated by Their proceedings against
 "Him, who was a Subject of *England*; against which he was
 "charged with Rebellion and Treason: that they did not
 "proceed against him as Duke *Hamilton* of *Scotland*, but as
 "Earl of *Cambridge* in *England*, and they would judge him
 as such. The Earl of *Holland* was not at that time in a good
 disposition of Health, and so Answer'd little, as a Man that
 would rather receive his life by their favour, than from the
 strength of his defence. The Earl of *Norwich* behaved him-
 self with great submission to the Court, and with all those
 Addresses as were most like to reconcile his Judges to him,
 and to prevail over their Affections: spoke of "his being
 "bred up in the Court, from his Cradle, in the time of
 "Queen *Elizabeth*; of his having been a Servant to King
 "James all his Reign; of his dependence upon Prince *Harry*;
 "afterwards, upon the late King; of the obligations he had
 "to the Crown, and of his Endeavours to serve it; and con-
 cluded as a Man that would be beholding to them if they
 would give him leave to live.

Then the Earl of
 of Holland.

The Earl of
 Norwich.

The Lord
 Capel.

THE Lord *Capel* appear'd undaunted, and utterly refused
 to submit to their jurisdiction; "that in the condition and
 "capacity of a Soldier and a Prisoner of War, he said, the
 "Lawyers and Gown-men had nothing to do with him, and
 "therefore he would not Answer to any thing which they
 "had said against him (*Steel* having treated him with great
 rudeness and insolence) but insisted upon "the Law of Na-
 tions, which exempted all Prisoners, though submitting to
 "Mercy, from death, if it was not inflicted within so many
 "days; which were long since expired. He urged "the De-
 claration which *Fairfax* the General had made to Him, and
 "the rest of the Prisoners, after the death of *St Charles Lucas*
 "and *St George Lisle*, that no other of their Lives should be
 "in

"in danger, which he had Witnesses ready to prove, if they might be admitted; and concluded, "that, if he had committed any Offence worthy of death, he might be tried by his Peers; which was his Right by the Laws of the Land; the benefit whereof he required. *Ireton*, who was present, and sat as one of his Judges, denied "that the General had made any such promise, and if he had, that the Parliament's Authority could not be restrain'd thereby; and put him in mind of his Carriage at that time, and how much he neglected then the General's civility. The other insisted still on the promise; and urged "that the General might be sent for, and examin'd; which they knew not how to deny, but, in regard of his indisposition of Health, they said "they would send to him, whilst they proceeded against *Sr John Owen*, who was the other Prisoner.

He Answer'd them without any application, "that he was ^{*Sr John Owen*} a plain Gentleman of *Wales*, who had been always taught "to obey the King; that he had serv'd him honestly during the War, and finding afterwards that many honest Men endeavour'd to raise Forces, whereby they might get him out of Prison, He did the like; and the High Sheriff endeavour'd to oppose him, and so chanced to be kill'd; which he might have avoided if he had staid at home: and concluded like a Man that did not much care what they resolv'd concerning him.

WHETHER the Question was well stated to *Fairfax*, or what was else said to him to dissuade him from owning his Declaration and promise, he boggled so much in his Answer, that they would be of opinion, "that he had not made such direct and positive promise; and that the same was never transmitted to the Parliament; which it ought to have been; and that, at most, it could but exempt those Prisoners from being tried before a Court, or Council of War, and could not be understood as an obligation upon the Parliament, not to give direction to such a legal Proceeding against them, as they should find necessary for the Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom. The President *Bradshaw* told the Lord *Capel*, with many insolent expressions, "that he was "tried before such Judges as the Parliament thought fit to assign him; and who had judged a better Man than himself. So the Sentence of death was pronounced against all five of them, "that they should lose their heads; upon which *Sr John Owen* ^{*all five*} ~~*condemnd*~~ made a low reverence, and gave them humble thanks, and being asked by a Stander by, "what he meant? he said aloud, "it was a very great honour to a poor Gentleman of *Wales* to lose his head with such noble Lords; and swore a great Oath, "that he was afraid they would have hanged him.

THE

THE Prisoners were all carried to *St James's*; where they were to remain till their Execution two days after; which time their Friends, and Relations, had to endeavour to preserve their lives by the Power and Authority of the Parliament; where there were so many sitting who had not fate in judgement upon them, and who were of several Affections, and liable to several temptations, that there might be a reasonable hope to rescue them from the cruel and unjust judgement. Their Wives, and Children, and Friends, left no way untried to prevail; offer'd, and gave Money to some who were willing to receive it, and made promises accordingly. But they who had the greatest credit, and most power to terrify others who should displease them, were inexorable; yet dealt so much more honestly than the rest, that they declared to the Ladies, who solicited for their Husbands and their Fathers, "that they would not endeavour to do them Service. *but*, above all Men, continued his insolent and dogged humour, and told them, "if He had credit, they should all dye. Others, who gave better Words, had no better Meaning than he.

ALL their Petitions were read in order, being read in such Styles as the Friends, who solicited for them, were advised. Duke *Hamilton's* Petition being read, many, upon the motives of Justice, and as they imagined his death might be the occasion of new Troubles between the two Nations, since *Scotland* could not but resent it, would have been willing he should live. But he had fewer Friends to his Person than any of the rest; and *Cromwell* knew well that his being out of the way would not be unacceptable to them upon whom the Peace of that Kingdom depended: so that when his Petition was read, it was rejected by very much the Major part of Voices. The consideration of the Earl of *Holland* took up a long Debate: the Interest and Interposition of the Earl of *Warwick*, his Brother, was apply'd; and every Presbyterian, to a Man, was solicitous to preserve him. They urged "his merit towards the Parliament in the beginning of the Troubles; how much he had suffer'd in the Court for his Affection to them: his Age, and Infirmities, which would not suffer him long to enjoy that Life they should give him: and the consideration of his Wife, and Children, which were numerous. But these Arguments stirr'd up others, to inveigh against his backslidings with the more bitterness, and to undervalue the Services he had ever done; to tax his Vanities, and his breach of Faith. When the Question was put concerning him, they who were for the Negative, exceeded the number of the other by three or four Votes; *Cromwell* having more than an ordinary Animosity against him, for his behaviour

behaviour in the beginning of the Summer, and for some words of neglect and contempt he had let fall concerning himself. The Earl of *Norwich* came next upon the Stage; who having always liv'd a chearful and jovial Life, without contracting many Enemies, had many there who wish'd him well, and few who had Animosity against him; so that when the Question was put concerning him, the House was equally divided, the Votes which rejected his Petition, and those which would preserve his Life, were equal: so that his Life or Death depended upon the single Vote of the Speaker; who told the House, "that he had receiv'd many obligations from that Lord; and that once when he had been like to have incur'd the King's displeasure, by some misinformation, which would have been very penal to him, the Lord *Goring* (under which style he was treated, the additional of *Norwich* not being allow'd by them upon their old Rule) "had by his Credit preserv'd him, and remov'd the Prejudice that was against him; and therefore he was oblig'd in gratitude to give his Vote for the saving him. By this good fortune he came to be preserv'd; whether the ground of it were true or no, or whether the Speaker made it only as an excuse for saving any Man's Life who was put to ask it in that place.

THE Lord *Capel*, shortly after he was brought Prisoner to the Tower from *Windsor* Castle, had by a wonderful adventure, having a Cord and all things necessary convey'd to him, let himself down out of the Window of his Chamber in the Night, over the Wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the Ditch he might be best able to wade. Whether he found the right place, or whether there was no safer place, he found the Water and the Mud so deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other Men, he must have perished, since the Water came up to his Chin. The way was so long to the other side, and the fatigue of drawing himself out of so much Mud so intolerable, that his Spirits were near spent, and he was once ready to call out for help, as thinking it better to be carried back again to the Prison, than to be found in such a place, from whence he could not extricate himself, and where he was ready to expire. But it pleas'd God, that he got at last to the other side; where his Friends expected him, and carried him to a Chamber in the Temple; where he remain'd two or three Nights secure from any discovery, notwithstanding the diligence that could not but be used to recover a Man they design'd to use no better. After two or three days a Friend whom he trusted much, and who deserv'd to be trusted, conceiving that he might be more secure in a place to which there

there was less resort, and where there were so many labour'd who were every day sought after, had provided a Lodging for him in a private House in *Lambeth Marsh*; and calling upon him in an evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they chose rather to take any Boat they found ready at the Temple Stairs, than to trust one of that People with the secret; and it was so late that there was one only Boat left there. In that the Lord *Capel* (as well disguis'd as he thought necessary) and his Friend, put themselves, and bid the Water-man row them to *Lambeth*. Whether, in their passage thither, the other Gentleman call'd him *my Lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the Water-man had any jealousy by observing what he thought was a disguise, when they were landed, the wicked Water-man, undiscern'd, follow'd them, till he saw into what House they went; and then went to an Officer, and demanded, "what he would give him to bring him to the place where the Lord *Capel* lay? And the Officer promising to give him ten pounds, he led him presently to the House, where that excellent Person was seised upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

WHEN the Petition, that his Wife had deliver'd, was read, many Gentlemen spoke on his behalf; and mention'd the great Virtues which were in him; and "that he had never deceiv'd them, or pretended to be of their Party; but "always resolutely declar'd himself for the King: and *Cromwell*, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and profess'd to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all Men thought he was now safe, when he concluded, "that his Affection to the Publick so much "weigh'd down his private Friendship, that he could not but "tell them, that the Question was now, whether they would "preserve the most bitter and most implacable Enemy they "had: that he knew the Lord *Capel* very well, and knew "that he would be the last Man in *England* that would forsake the Royal Interest; that he had great Courage, Industry, and Generosity; that he had many Friends who would "always adhere to him; and that as long as he liv'd, what "condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their "sides; and therefore, for the good of the Commonwealth, "he should give his Vote against the Petition. *Irons*'s Hatred was Immortal: he spoke of him, and against him, as of a Man of whom he was heartily afraid. Very many were sway'd by the Argument that had been urg'd against Duke *Hamilton*, "that God was not pleas'd that he should Escape, "because He had put him into their hands again, when he "was at liberty. And so, after a long Debate, though there was not a Man who had not a value for him, and very few who

who had a particular Malice, or Prejudice towards him, the Question being put, the Negative was more by three or four Voices: So that, of the four Lords, three were without the Mercy of that Unmerciful People. There being no other Petition presented, *Ireson* told them, "there had been great Endeavours and Sollicitation us'd to save all those Lords; but that there was a Commoner, another condemn'd Person, for whom no one Man had spoke a word, nor had he himself so much as Petition'd them; and therefore he desired, that *Sr John Owen*, might be preserv'd by the meer Motive, and goodness of the House it self; which found little opposition; whether they were satiated with Blood, or that they were willing, by this Instance, that the Nobility should see that a Commoner should be preferr'd before them.

A SCAFFOLD was erected before *Westminster Hall*, and all the Prisoners condemn'd were brought from *Sr James's* (as well the two who were repriev'd, as the three who were to suffer) upon the ninth of *March*, that was at the end of the year 1648, a little more than a Month after the Murther of the King, to *Sr Thomas Custon's House*, at the upper end of *Westminster Hall*; where they were suffer'd to repose themselves about the space of an hour, and then were led successively through the Hall to the Scaffold, *Duke Hamilton* being first; *Duke Hamilton* who seem'd yet to have some hope of a Reprieve, and made *milton* to some stay in the Hall, till the Earl of *Denbigh* came to him; and, after a short whisper, in which he found there was no hope, he ascended the Scaffold. He complain'd much of "the injustice that was done him; and that he was put to death for obeying the Laws of his Country; which if he had not done, he must have been put to death there. He acknowledged the Obligations he had to the King, and seem'd not sorry for the gratitude he had expressed, how dear soever it cost him. His natural darkness, and reservation in his discourse, made him to be thought a Wise man, and his having been in Command under the King of *Sweden*, and his continual discourses of Battles, and Fortifications, made him be thought a great Soldier. And both these mistakes were the Cause that made him be looked upon as a wise and a more dangerous Man, than in truth he deserv'd to be.

THE Earl of *Holland* was brought next, who, by his long sickness, was so spent, that his Spirits serv'd not to entertain the People with long discourse. He spoke of "his Religion, as a matter unquestionable, by the Education he had had in the Religious Family of which he was a branch: which was thought a strange discourse for a dying Man, who, though a Son, knew enough of the iniquity of his Father's House, which should rather have been buried in silence, than, by

by such an unseasonable Testimony, have been revived in the memory and discourse of Men. He took more care to be thought a good friend to Parliaments, than a good Servant to his Master, and was thought to say too little of his having failed so much in his Duty to him, which most good Men believ'd to be the Source from whence his present calamity sprung. He was a very well bred Man, and a fine Gentleman in good times; but too much desir'd to enjoy ease and plenty, when the King could have neither; and did think Poverty the most insupportable evil that could befall any Man in this world. He was then so weak that he could not have liv'd long; and when his head was cut off, very little blood follow'd.

The Lord
Capel,

THE Lord *Capel* was then called; who walked through *Westminster* Hall, saluting such of his Friends and Acquaintance as he saw there, with a very serene Countenance, accompanied with his Friend Dr *Morley*; who had been with him from the time of his Sentence; but, at the foot of the Scaffold, the Soldiers stopping the Dr, his Lordship took his leave of him; and, embracing him, thanked him; and said, he should go no farther, having some apprehension that he might receive some affront by that rude People after his death; the Chaplains who attended the two other Lords, being Men of the time, and the Dr being well known to be most contrary.

AS SOON as his Lordship had ascended the Scaffold, he looked very vigorously about, and asked, "whether the other Lords had spoken to the People with their Hats on? and" being told, that "they were bare; he gave his Hat to his Servant, and then with a clear and a strong voice, he said, "that he was brought thither to dye for doing that which he could not repent of: that he had been born, and bred under the Government of a King whom he was bound in Conscience to obey; under Laws, to which he had been always obedient; and in the bosom of a Church, which he thought the best in the world: that he had never violated his Faith to either of those, and was now condemn'd to dye against all the Laws of the Land; to which Sentence he did submit.

HE enlarged himself in commending "the great Virtue and Piety of the King, whom they had put to death; who was so just and so merciful a Prince; and prayed to God, to forgive the Nation that innocent Blood. Then he recommended to them the present King; who, he told them, was their true and their Lawful Sovereign; and was worthy to be so; that he had the honour to have been some years near his Person, and therefore he could not but know him well; and assured them, "that he was a Prince of great understanding,

derstanding, of an excellent Nature, of great Courage, an entire Lover of Justice, and of exemplary Piety: that he was not to be shaken in his Religion; and had all those Princely Virtues, which could make a Nation happy: and therefore advised them "to submit to his Government, as the only means to preserve themselves, their posterity, and the Protestant Religion. And having, with great vehemence, recommended it to them, after some prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his Knees, he submitted himself, with an unparalleled Christian Courage, to the fatal stroke, which deprived the Nation of the noblest Champion it had.

He was a Man in whom the Malice of his Enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his Friends could not with better accomplished; whom *Cromwell's* own Character well described; and who indeed would never have been contented to have liv'd under that Government. His Memory all Men loved and revered, though few follow'd his Example. He had always liv'd in a State of great plenty and general estimation, having a very noble Fortune of his own by descent, and a fair Addition to it by his Marriage with an excellent Wife, a Lady of very worthy Extraction, of great Virtue and Beauty, by whom he had a numerous Issue of both Sexes, in which he took great Joy and Comfort: so that no Man was more happy in all his Domestick Affairs; and he was so much the more happy, in that he thought himself most blessed in them.

AND yet the King's Honour was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all those blessings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown, than those which his own Honour and Conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his Person and his Fortune from the beginning of the Troubles, as many others did, in all Actions and Enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a Faction, that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excused him for some remission of his former warmth. But it made no other impression upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and, with the same cheerfulness, to obey the first Summons when he was called out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a Man, that whoever shall, after Him, deserve best of the *English* Nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear, that his Courage, Virtue, and Fidelity, is aid in the Ballance with, and compared to that of the Lord *Capel*.

So ended the year one thousand six hundred forty eight; The Conclusion and Character of the year 1648.
 year of Reproach and Infamy above all years which had
 Vol. III. Part i. T passed

passed before it; a year of the highest dissimulation and hypocrisy, of the deepest Villainy and most bloody Treasons, that any Nation was ever cursed with, or under: a year, in which the Memory of all the Transactions ought to be raised out of all Records, lest, by the success of it, Atheism, Infidelity, and Rebellion, should be propagated in the world: a year, of which We may say, as the Historian said of the time of Demetrius, *Sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute*; or, as the same Writer says of a time not altogether so wicked, *is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes patenteretur*.

THE END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK

THE

T H E
History of the Rebellion, &c.
B O O K XII.

2 Chron. xxviii. 10.

And now ye purpose to keep under the Children of Judah and Jerusalem for bond-men and bond-women unto you: but are there not with you, even with you, Sins against the Lord your God?

Isa. xxix. 10.

For the Lord hath poured out upon you the Spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes: the Prophets and your Rulers, the Seers hath he covered.

WHILST these Tragedies were acting in The young England, and Ordinances form'd, as hath King's commission at the Hague. been said, to make it penal in the highest degree for any Man to assume the Title of King, or to acknowledge any Man to be so, the King himself remain'd in a very disconsolate Condition at the *Hague*. Though he had known the desperate state his Father was long in, yet the barbarous stroke so surpris'd him, that he was in all the Confusion imaginable, and all about him were almost bereft of their understanding. The truth is, it can hardly be conceiv'd, with what a consternation this terrible News was receiv'd by all, even by the Common People of that Country. There was a Woman at the *Hague*, of the middling Rank, who, being with Child, with the Horror of the mention of it, fell into Travel, and in it died. There could not be more Evidence of a general detestation, than there was, amongst all Men of what Quality

T 2

soever.

2 to p. 264 infra.

...had sent an ambassador into England to prevent if possible the
order of it their opinion p 242, 3.

we afraid afterwards to
protect him. v. p. 293
ackd.

The States
condole with
him

soever. Within two or three days, which they gave to the King's recollection, the States presented themselves in a Body to his Majesty, to condole with him for the Murther of his Father, in terms of great Sorrow, save that there was not bitterness enough against the Rebels and Murtherers. The States of *Holland*, apart, perform'd the same Civility towards his Majesty; and the Body of the Clergy, in a Latin Oration, deliver'd by the Chief Preacher of the *Hague*, lamented the Misfortune, in terms of as much asperity, and detestation of the Actors, as unworthy the name of Christians, as could be expressed. #

The new
Council
sworn.

THE desperateness of the King's Condition, could not excuse the sinking under the Burthen of his Grief: but those who were about him besought him to resume so much Courage as was necessary for his present State. He thereupon caused those of his Father's Council who had attended him, to be sworn of his Privy Council, adding only Mr *Long* his Secretary; who, before, was not of the Council. All which was done before he heard from the Queen his Mother; who, notwithstanding the great Agony she was in, which without doubt was as great a passion of Sorrow as she was able to sustain, wrote to the King, "that he could not do better, than to repair into *France* as soon as was possible, and, in the mean time, desired him, not to swear any Persons to be of his Council, till She could speak with him. Whether it was, that she did not think those Persons to be enough at her Devotion; or that she would have them receive that Honour upon her recommendation.

The Queen's
first Message
to him.

THE King himself had no mind to go into *France*, where he thought he had not been treated with excess of Courtesy; and he resolv'd to perform all Filial respect towards the Queen his Mother, without such a condescension and resignation of himself, as she expected; and to avoid all Eclaircissemens upon that Subject, he heartily desired that any other Courtier might be found more Counsellable than that he should go into *France*. He himself liv'd with, and upon the Prince of *Orange*; who supplied him with all things necessary for his own Person, for his Mourning, and the like: but towards any other support for himself and his Family, his Majesty had not enough to maintain them one day: and there were very few of them who could maintain themselves in the most private way: and it was visible enough, that they should not be long able to reside in the *Hague*; where there was, at that very time, an Agent for the Parliament, *Strickland*; who had been there some years, but pretended then to reside there with his Wife (who was born in *Holland* of *English* Parents) and without any publick Character, though he was still under the same

R. B. Another Dutch Preacher zealous for *Kathol.* - it was one *Jacob Hermon* who was dispatched SS at *Oxford* by virtue of a Charter. He set forth his Affection to y^e K. of B. an acct. y^e given in the f. of *Wood's* *Ann. Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 815.
concerning *England* was atok of whom see an acct. in the *Wood's* Vol. 2 p. 821.

same Credentials. And their Advertisements from *London* assured them, that the Parliament had nominated one, who was presently to be sent as their Embassadour, or Envoy to the States, to give them an Account of their Affairs, and to invite them to enter into an Alliance with them. So that it was time to think of some other Retreat for the King; and none appear'd then so seasonable in their view, as *Ireland*; from whence they heard, "that Prince *Rupert* was arriv'd safely at *Kinsale* with the Fleet: that the Lord *Inchiquin* had made a Cessation with the *Irish*, before the Lord Lieutenant came thither; and the *Irish* had deserted the Pope's Nuntio, who was driven away, and had Embarked himself for *France*: that the Marquis of *Ormond* was receiv'd by the Lord *Inchiquin* with all the Obedience imaginable, by which he became entirely possessed of the whole Province of *Munster*; and that the Confederate Roman Catholics had invited him to *Kilkenny*; where he had made a full Peace with them: so that they were preparing an Army to march under his Command against *Dublin*. This News made them hope, that every day would improve it so much, that it would be fit for the King to Transport his own Person thither in the Spring.

IN this conjuncture there arriv'd a Gentleman, one *St. Joseph Douglas*, with a Letter from the Privy Council of *Scotland*, by which they sent his Majesty word that they had proclaim'd him King of *Scotland*; and sent him the Proclamation; and wish'd "that he would prepare himself to repair into that his Kingdom; in order to which they would speedily send another Invitation to him. And that Invitation arriv'd at the same time with some Commissioners deputed by the Council, and three or four Preachers sent from the Commissioners of the Kirk. The Proclamation indeed declar'd, "For that as much as the late King was, contrary to the Dissent and Protestation of that Kingdom, remov'd by a violent death, that, by the Lord's Blessing, there was left unto them a righteous Heir, and lawful Successor, *Charles* &c. who was become their true and lawful King; but upon condition of "his good behaviour, and strict observation of the Covenant, and his entertaining no other Persons about him but such as were Godly Men, and faithful to that obligation. A Proclamation so strangely worded, that, though it call'd him their King, manifested enough to him, that he was to be subject to Their determinations, in all the parts of his Government. And the Commissioners, both Laity and Clergy, spoke no other Language; and saving that they bowed their Bodies, and made low Reverences, they appear'd more like Embassadors

Lanrick,
now Duke
Hamilton,
and Lau-
therdale,
came to him
also.

from a free State to an equal Ally, than like Subjects sent to their own Sovereign. At the same time, though not in the same Ship, arriv'd likewise from *Scotland* the Earl of *Lanrick*, and Earl of *Lautberdale*; the former not knowing, till he came into *Holland*, that he was Duke *Hamilton* by the slaughter of his Elder Brother. But they two were so far from having any Authority from their Country, that they were fled from thence as proscrib'd Persons and Malefactors. The Earl of *Lautberdale*, after his departure from the *Hague*, in that discontent that is mention'd before, bent his course for *Scotland*. But before he came thither, he was inform'd, that the state of all things had been revers'd, and the Engagement declar'd unlawful, and to what penalties himself was liable, if he should be taken. Whereupon, without suffering his Ship to go into any Port, he found means to send on shore to some Friends, and so to concert all things, that without being discover'd, the Earl of *Lanrick*, and some other Persons, liable to danger if they were found, put themselves on board the same Ship, and arriv'd in *Holland* about that time when the other Messengers from the State and from the Kirk came from *Scotland*, and when the News came of the Execution of Duke *Hamilton*.

The Character
of this
Duke Ha-
milton.

WHEREUPON the new Duke kept his Chamber for some days, without so much as waiting on the King; who sent a gracious Message to him to condole for the loss of his Brother; and all the Lords, and other Persons of Quality about the King, made their visits to him with all civility. This Duke was not inferior in Wisdom, and Parts of Understanding, to the wisest Man of that Nation, and was very much esteem'd by those who did not like the complying, and insinuating Nature of his Brother. He was a Man of great Honour, Courage, and sincerity in his Nature, and, which was a rare virtue in the Men of that time, was still the same Man he pretended to be; and had very much to say in his own defence for the Errors he had run into; which he acknowledg'd always with great ingenuity, and abhor'd the whole proceedings of his Country-men; and, at this time, brought a heart and affection clearer and less clogg'd with scruples and reservations, for the King's service, than any other of them did.

The condition
of Scotland
about this
time.

THOUGH *Cromwell*, at his being in *Scotland*, had left *Argyle* in full Possession of the Government there, and had reduc'd, and disbanded all those who were in Arms against him, and promis'd him all necessary assistance to subdue those who should rise against him in that Kingdom for the future, and thereby compell'd the Committee of Estates to convene, and summon the Parliament to Assemble, which they had authority to do; and so he had suppress'd the Party of *Hamilton*,
driven

driven the Earl of *Lawrick* to hide himself in some obscure place, and condemn'd the Engagement as unlawful and sinful, and all the Persons who advanced and promoted it, as Deserters of the Covenant, and so to stand Excommunicated, and not to be capable of serving in Parliament, or in the Council of Estate; so that he was sure to find no opposition in whatsoever he propos'd; yet, after the Parliament had serv'd him so far, when they heard that the Parliament in *England* was broken, and their Freedom and Privileges were taken from them by the insolence, and power of the Army (which they perfectly hated and detested, and all those Sects and Libertinism they heard were introduc'd in Religion contrary to their Covenant, which *Cromwell* himself had promis'd should be strictly observ'd) they began to examine, what the obligations were which were incumbent upon them even by the Covenant it self. The delivery of the King's Person into the hands of the Parliament at *New-Castle* had been, in the instant it was done, the most unpopular and ungracious act to the whole Nation of *Scotland*, that it had been ever guilty of, and to the Army they had then on foot, which took it self to be deeply wounded by the infamy of it, and was therefore quickly disbanded by the cunning of *Argyle*: and the universal indignation against that Action was the principal incitement to that general Engagement with Duke *Hamilton*, that the honour of the Nation might in some degree be repair'd, or redeem'd. It was a gross oversight in the *Hamiltonian* Party, and discern'd then to be so by the Earl of *Lawrick*, that, upon that Popular advantage, in which he would have found an universal concurrence, *Argyle* himself and all his Faction had not been totally suppress'd, for the redemption of the honour of their Country. But that Duke's Politicks did not lie that way; and, so he might return to his old Post of favour in *England*, of which he made little doubt, he was not willing to give a new beginning to those bloody Enterprises in *Scotland*, which, he knew well, us'd not to be short-liv'd in that Climate after once begun, but had always fresh Sacrifices of Blood to perpetuate the memory of them.

THEY had no sooner heard of the erection of a High Court Commissioners had been sent from the Parliament of Scotland before the death of the King to the Parliament of England of Justice, and of a purpose of Trying the King for his Life, than, notwithstanding all the Artifices *Argyle* could use, they were all in a flame. As well the Assembly of the Kirk, as the Parliament, renew'd the sense they always had of reproach in the delivery of his Person, of which the present danger he was in was the consequence. And the Marquis of *Argyle* had had too deep a share in that wickedness, to endure the shock of a new dispute, and inquisition upon that subject; and therefore gave not the least opposition to their passion; but seem'd

equally concern'd in the honour of the Nation, to prosecute an high Expostulation with those of *England*, for the breach of Faith, and the Promises, which had been made for the safety, and preservation of the King's Person, at the time he was deliver'd up; and therefore propos'd, "that Commissioners should be forthwith sent to the Parliament at *London*, to require the performance of what they had promised, and to enter their dissent, and protestation against all their Proceedings against their King, in the Name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. And the Earl of *Lothian*, and two others, who were known to be most zealous for the Covenant, and most enrag'd and incens'd against the proceedings of the Army, were made choice of, and presently sent away, that they might make all possible hast to *Westminster*, and were, immediately upon their Arrival, to demand permission to wait upon the King, wherever he should be, and to receive from him such farther directions, as he should judge necessary for his service.

THUS far *Argyle* could not oppose; and therefore was as zealous as any Man to advance it; knowing that the particular Instructions must be prepar'd by a less number of Men, and not subjected to the examination and perusal of so many. And in those, he was sure to prevent any inconvenient Powers to be granted to the Commissioners, with whom he had Credit enough, having made the Earl of *Lothian* Secretary of State, in the place of the Earl of *Laurick*, and the other two being (however solicitous for the due observation of the Covenant, as he himself likewise pretended to be) known to be most averse from the *Hamiltonian* Party. Their private Instructions were, "that they should not, in their enlargements and aggravations upon the subject of their Message, seem to take notice, or to imply, that any violence had been us'd against the Parliament, or any Member of it: That they should be so short in their expostulations, that they gave no occasion of offence: That nothing should fall from them justifying the King's Proceedings, nor in approbation of the late Engagement, or which might import a breach, or give, or be ground of a new War: They should urge, that the Parliament would delay to meddle with the King's Person, according to their several Promises, and Declarations at *New-Castle*, and at *Holmby*: That if they should proceed to sentence against the King, then they were to enter their dissent and protest, that this Kingdom may be free from the Miseries which will inevitably follow, without offering in their reasons, that Princes are exempted from Trial and Justice: That none in the Parliament of *Scotland* hath, or had any hand in the proceedings against the King, or Members of

Their private Instructions from *Argyle's* Party.

"Parliament

“Parliament in *England*. If they proceed, then to shew the
 “Calamities that will follow, and how grievous it must be to
 “the Kingdom of *Scotland*, considering his being deliver’d up
 “at *New-Castle*: That if the Papers which were intitl’d *The*
 “*Agreement of the People*, appear’d to be countenanced, and
 “should import any thing concerning the Proceßing of the
 “Prince, or changing the Fundamental Government of the
 “Kingdom, they should enter their dissent: That they should
 “alter those their Instructions, and manage their Trust there-
 “in, according to the advice they should receive from their
 “Friends there: That they should prosecute their Instructions
 “concerning the Covenant, and against any Toleration: That
 “they should shew, that the King’s last Concessions were un-
 “satisfactory to those Propositions which they had made in
 “point of Religion.

THESE were their private Instructions; and who those
 Friends at *London* were, by whose advice they were to alter
 their Instructions, or manage their Trust therein, can be un-
 derstood of no other Men but *Cromwell*, and young *St. Harry*
Vane; with whom *Argyle* held close Correspondence. The
 Commissioners observ’d their Instructions very faithfully, and
 after the King had been twice brought before the High Court
 of Justice, they gave in their very calm Protestation; in which
 they put them in mind, “that they had, near three Weeks
 “before, represented to them what Endeavours had been us’d
 “for taking away the King’s Life, and for the change of the
 “Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and introducing
 “a sinful and ungodly Toleration in matters of Religion; and
 “that therein they had express’d their thoughts, and fears of
 “the dangerous Consequences, that might follow thereupon;
 “and that they had also earnestly press’d, that there might be
 “no farther proceeding against his Majesty’s Person, which
 “would certainly continue the great distractions of the King-
 “dom, and involve them in many Evils, Troubles, and Con-
 “fusions; but that, by the free Counsels of both Houses of
 “Parliament of *England*, and with the advice and consent of
 “the Parliament of *Scotland*, such course might be taken in
 “relation to the King, as might be for the good and happi-
 “ness of both Kingdoms; both having an unquestionable,
 “and undeniable right in his Person, as King of both; which
 “duly consider’d, they had reason to hope, that it would have
 “given a stop to all farther proceedings against his Majesty’s
 “Person. But now understanding that after the Imprisonment,
 “and Exclusion of divers Members of the House of Com-
 “mons, and without, and against the consent of the House of
 “Peers, by a single Act of their own, and Their’s alone,
 “power was given to certain Persons of their own Members,

“of

Open the
King's Trial
they enter
their Pro-
testation and
Dissent.

3 to p. 256 / y/m

“of the Army, and some others, to proceed against his Majesty’s Person, in order whereunto he had been brought before that extraordinary new Court; they did therefore in the Name of the Parliament of *Scotland*, for their vindication from false Aspersions and Calumnies, declare, that though they were not satisfied with his Majesty’s late Concessions, in the Treaty at *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*, especially in the matters of Religion, and were resolv’d not to crave his Restoration to his Government, before satisfaction should be given by him to that Kingdom; yet they did all unanimously with one voice, not one Member excepted, disclaim the least knowledge of, or occasion to the late Proceedings of the Army here against the King; and did sincerely profess that it would be a great grief to their Hearts, and lie heavy upon their Spirits, if they should see the trusting his Majesty’s Person to the two Houses of the Parliament of *England* to be made use of to his ruin, contrary to the declared Intentions of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and solemn Professions of the Kingdom of *England*: And to the end that it might be manifest to the World, how much they did abominate and detest so horrid a design against his Majesty’s Person, they did, in the Name of the Parliament and Kingdom of *Scotland*, declare their dissent from the said Proceedings, and the taking away of his Majesty’s Life; protesting, that as they were altogether free from the same, so they might be free from all the Miseries, evil Consequences, and Calamities, that might follow thereupon to the distracted Kingdoms.

WHOEVER considers the wariness in the wording, and timing this Protestation, the best end whereof could be no other than the keeping the King always in Prison, and so governing without him in both Kingdoms (which was thought to have been the purpose and agreement of *Cromwell* and *Argyle* when they parted) must conclude that both the Commissioners, and they who sent them, labour’d and consider’d more, what they were to say in the future, than what they were to do to prevent the present Mischief they seem’d to apprehend. And the Parliament best knew their temper, when they deferr’d taking notice of their Protestation, till after they had executed their execrable Villainy; and then they sent them an Answer that might suit with all their Palates. They said, “they had heretofore told them, what power this Nation had in the Fundamentals of Government: That if *Scotland* had not the same Power and Liberty, as they went not about to confine Them, so they would not be limited by them, but leaving them to act in Theirs as they should see cause, they resolv’d to maintain their own Liberties

The Parliament after the King’s Murder send their Answer to us.

"berties as God should enable them. And as they were very
 "far from imposing upon them, so they should not willingly
 "suffer impositions from them, whilst God gave them strength
 "or lives to oppose them. They said, "the Answer they
 "made to their first and second Letter was, that after a long and
 "serious Deliberation of their own intrinsical Power, and Trust
 "(deriv'd to them by the Providence of God, through the
 "delegation of the People) and upon the like considerations
 "of what themselves, and the whole Nation had suffer'd from
 "the Misgovernment, and Tyranny of that King, both in
 "Peace, and by the Wars, and considering, how fruitless,
 "and full of danger and prejudice the many Addresses to him
 "for Peace had been, and being Conscious how much they
 "had provoked and tempted God, by the neglect of the im-
 "partial execution of Justice, in relation to the innocent
 "Blood spilt and mischief done in the late Wars, they had
 "proceeded in such a course of Justice against that Man of
 "Blood, as they doubted not the just God (who is no re-
 "specter of Persons) did approve and would countenance
 "with his blessings upon the Nation ; and though perhaps
 "they might meet with many difficulties before their Liber-
 "ties and Peace were settled, yet they hoped they should be
 "preserv'd from Confusion, by the good Will of him who
 "dwelt in the bush, which burn'd, and was not consumed ;
 "and that the course they had taken with the late King, and
 "meant to follow towards others the Capital Enemies of their
 "Peace, was, they hoped, that which would be for the good
 "and happiness of both Nations ; of which if that of *Scotland*
 "would think to make use, and vindicate their own Liberty
 "and Freedom (which lay before them, if they gave them
 "not away) they would be ready to give them all Neigh-
 "bourly and Friendly Assistance in the establishing thereof ;
 "and desired them to take it into their most serious confide-
 "ration, before they espoused that quarrel, which could bring
 "them no other advantage than the entailing upon Them,
 "and their Posterities, a lasting War, with all the Miseries
 "which attended it, and Slavery under a Tyrant and his
 "Issue.

It cannot be denied, but that *Scotland* had by this a fair
 Invitation to have made themselves a poor Republick, under
 the Shelter and Protection of the other, that was already be-
 come terrible. But the Commissioners, who well knew how
 unsuitable such a change would be to the constitution of their
 Government, and that they might be welcome to their own *The Commis-*
 Country, whither they were now to repair, made a reply to *senars reply,*
 this Answer with more Courage than they had yet expressed, *and are im-*
 for which, notwithstanding their Qualification, they were im- *prison'd, but*
afterwards *prison'd freed.*

x in a letter dated Feb. 24. 1648 annexed
to the Declaration of the Parliament of England upon the mar-
riage of the Army into Scotland 4. 1650 printed by W. Dugdale
according to an Ord. of Parliament of June 26. 1650 pag. 19 &c. together
with the Declaration of the Parliament of England to the Parliament of Scotland
the 23. May 1649, with the Answer of the Parliament of Scotland
the 26. June 1649. & the occasion of the printing & publishing A. D.

in a peaceable way to remove all his underlings and disaffected
between of opinion, which of England is a Kingdom of the Law.
on July 21st 1688 he fled to France, and was going to be married
himself to a French Princess, who were afterwards declared rebels
adding a bar to the
of Argyle
clog the Act
for Proclaim-
ing of the
King with a
Clause for
the Coven-
nant.

THE HISTORY OF BOOK XII.
Scotland, let at liberty afterwards.
MATTERS being reduced to this State, the Marquis of
Argyle could not hinder the new King's being acknowledged,
and proclaimed King, nor from being invited home; which
since he could not obstruct, it would be his Master-piece to
clog the Proclamation it self with such conditions as might
terrify the new King from accepting the invitation; and there-
fore he caused this Clause to be inserted in the Body of the
Proclamation it self, "because his Majesty is bound, by the
"Law of God and the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom,
"to rule in Righteousness and Equity to the Honour of God,
"and the good of Religion, and the Wealth of the People;
"it is hereby declared, that before he be admitted to the Ex-
"ercise of his Royal Power, he shall give satisfaction to this
"Kingdom in those things which concern the security of Re-
"ligion, the Unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and the good and
"Peace of this Kingdom, according to the National Covenant
"and Solemn League and Covenant; for which end, they were
"resolv'd, with all possible Expedition, to make their humble
"and earnest Address to his Majesty.

THIS was the Proclamation that *Sr Joseph Douglass* brought
to the *Hague*, and the Subject upon which the Commissioners
were to invite his Majesty to go for *Scotland*, whose Instru-
ctions were very suitable to the Proclamation: and at the
same time when the Commissioners came from thence, *Mid-*
dleton, and some other Officers, who had been in their last
Army, hearing that the Prince was proclaim'd King, thought
it was seasonable to put themselves into a posture to serve him
upon his arrival; and so assembled some of those Troops
which had formerly serv'd under them in the North of *Scot-*
land; whereupon *David Lesley* was appointed forthwith, with
a Party of Horse and Foot, against those Royalists, whom
they knew to be real Assertors of his Cause, without any other
interest or design than of their performing their Duties, as
Loyal Subjects ought to do: and the Kirk at the same time
declared, "that, before the King should be receiv'd, albeit
"they had declared his Right by Succession, he should first
"sign the Covenant, submit to the Kirk's Censure, renounce
"the Sins of his Father's House, and the iniquity of his Mo-
"ther, with other things of the like Nature. All which In-
formation arriv'd at the same time with the Commissioners,
that they who were about the King, might not be too much
Exalted with their Master's being declared King of one of his
three Kingdoms. And it was very manifest, by all that pass'd
then and afterwards, that the Marquis of *Argyle* meant only
to satisfy the People, in declaring that they had a King, with-
out

Middleton
assembles
some Troops
in Scot-
land.

out which they could not be satisfied, but that such conditions should be put upon him, as he knew, he would not submit to; and so he should be able, with the concurrence of the *Kirk*, to Govern the Kingdom, till, by *Cromwell's* assistance and advice, he might reverse that little approach he had made towards Monarchy by Proclaiming a King.

IT was a great Misfortune to the King, and which always *Fallens in the King's Court with reference to Scotland.* attends Courts which labour under great wants and necessities, that, whilst the greatest Union imaginable amongst the few Friends he had was necessary, and of too little Power to buoy him up from the distresses which overwhelm'd him, there was yet so great a Faction, and Animosity amongst them, that destroy'd any the most probable design that could offer it self; as it now fell out with reference to *Scotland*, which, if united, might yet be able to give Reputation at least, if not a vigorous Assistance to the King's Interest.

THE Marquis of *Montrose*, who hath been mention'd before, had been oblig'd by the late King to lay down his Armes; and after he had perform'd such wonderful Actions in *Scotland*, and left that Kingdom upon his Majesty's first coming into the *Scottish* Army to *New-Castle*, had first arriv'd in *France*, and had not such a Reception from the Queen of *England*, and those who were in credit with her, as he thought the notable Services he had perform'd for the King had merited. The truth is, he was somewhat elated with the great Actions he had done; which, upon his first coming to *Paris*, he caused to be published in a full Relation in Latin, dedicated to the Prince of *Wales*; in which, as his own Person, Courage, and Conduct, was well extolled, so the Reputation of all the rest of that Nation (upon whose Affections the Queen at that time depended) was exceedingly undervalued and depressed; which obliged the Queen, and the Prince, to look less graciously upon him; which he could not bear without expressing much disturbance at it. He was then a Man of *éclat*, had many Servants, and more Officers, who had serv'd under him, and came away with him, all whom he expected the Queen should enable him to maintain with some Lustre, by a liberal assignation of Monies. On the other hand, the Queen was in straits enough, and never open-handed, and used to pay the best Services with receiving them graciously, and looking kindly upon those who did them. And her Graces were still more towards those who were like to do Services, than to those who Had done them. So that after a long attendance, and some overtures made by him to Cardinal *Mazarin*, to raise an Army for the Service of that King, which he did not think were receiv'd with that regard his great name deserv'd, the Marquis left *France*, and made a Journey into *Germany* to the Emperor's

The Marquis of Mountrose arrives in France.
Thence goes into Germany.

Emperor's Court, desiring to see Armies, till he could come to command them; and was return'd to *Brussels*, about the time that the Prince came back into *Holland* with the Fleet; and lay there very privately, and as *incognito*, for some time, till he heard of the Murther of the late King. Then he sent to the King with the tender of his Service, and to know, "if his Majesty thought his attendance upon him might bring any prejudice to his Majesty; and if so, that he would send over the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Sevensberg*, a Town in *Flanders*, where he was at present to expect him, and had matters to communicate to him of much importance to his Majesty's Service. Whether he did this out of modesty, and that he might first know his Majesty's pleasure, or out of some vanity, that he might seem to come to the King, after the coldness he had met at *Paris*, by a kind of Treaty, the King commanded the Chancellor presently to go to him; and "if he could, without exasperating him (which he had no mind to do) wished, "he might be persuaded rather for some time to suspend his coming to the *Hague*, than presently to appear there; which was an injunction very disagreeable to the Chancellor; who in his judgement believ'd his Majesty should bid him very welcome, and prefer him before any other of that Nation in his esteem.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer sent to confer with him in a Village near the Hague.

THE sudden violent frost, which shut up all the Rivers in less than four and twenty hours, kept them at that time from meeting; but, within a short time after, and upon another Message from him, they met at a Village three or four miles off the *Hague*; whither the Marquis was come. The Chancellor had never seen him from the time he had left *Oxford*, when he seem'd to have very much modesty, and deference to the opinion and judgement of other Men. But he had, since that time, done so many signal Actions, won so many Battles, and in truth made so great a noise in the world, that there appear'd no less alteration to be in his humour, and discourse, than there had been in his Fortune. He seem'd rather to have desired that interview, that he might the better know what advice to give the King, and how to make a Party that would be fast to him, than out of any doubt that his presence would not be acceptable to his Majesty. There was yet no news from *Scotland* since the Murther of the King, and he seem'd to think of nothing but that the King would presently send him thither with some Forces, to prepare the way for himself to follow after. They spent that Night together in Conference, and the next Morning the Chancellor prevailed with him, with great difficulty, that he would stay in that place, which did not abound with all things desirable, or some where else, until he might give him Notice, what

the King's sense should be of the matters discoursed between them; insisting principally, "that, if his going into *Scotland* should be thought presently to be necessary, it would then be as necessary, that he should not be taken notice of publicly to have been with the King: with which reason he seem'd satisfied; and promised "not to come to the *Hague*, till he should first receive advice from the Chancellor. But when he heard of the Commissioners being come from *Scotland*, and of the other Lords arrival there, he would no longer defer his Journey thither, but came to the *Hague* well attended by Servants and Officers, and presented himself to the King; who receiv'd him with a very good countenance.

The Marquis comes to the Hague.

THERE were at this time in the *Hague*, the Commissioners who came from the Council and the Kirk to invite the King into *Scotland*, or rather to let him know upon what terms he might come thither, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Lamberdale*, and others of the Nobility of that Faction, who were now as odious, and as much persecuted by that Party, which then govern'd *Scotland*, and which in that manner invited the King, as any Men were who had serv'd the King from the beginning. There was also the Marquis of *Montrose*, with more of the Nobility, as the Earls of *Seaford*, and *Knoul*, and others, who adher'd to *Montrose*, and believ'd his clear Spirit to be most like to advance the King's Service. Of these three Parties, it might reasonably have been hoped that the two last, being equally persecuted by the Power that govern'd, should have been easily United to have suppressed the other. But it was a business too hard for the King to bring it to pass; and he could as easily have persuaded the Parliament to reject *Cromwell*, as the Lords of the Engagement, and those who had joyn'd with Duke *Hamilton*, to be reconciled to *Montrose*: So that when the King hoped to have drawn all the *Scottish* Nobility together, to have consulted what Answer he should give to the Messages he had receiv'd from the Council and the Kirk, with which they themselves were enough offended, those Lords of the Engagement did not only refuse to meet with the Lord *Montrose*, but, as soon as he came into the Room where they were, though his Majesty himself was present, they immediately withdrew, and left the Room; and had the confidence to desire the King, "that the Marquis of *Montrose* (whom they call'd *James Graham*) might be forbidden to come into his Majesty's Presence, or Court, because he stood Excommunicated by the Kirk of *Scotland*, and degraded and forfeited by the Judicatory of that Kingdom. This Proposition and Demand they made confidently in writing under their Hands, and abounded so much in this sense, that a

The Parties of the Scots now at the Hague.

Learned

Learned and Worthy *Scotish* Divine, Dr *Wylbart*, who was then Chaplain to a *Scotish* Regiment in the Service of the States, being appointed to Preach before the King on the *Sunday* following, they formally besought the King, "that he would not suffer him to Preach before him, nor to come in to his Presence, because he stood Excommunicated by the Kirk of *Scotland*, for having refused to take the Covenant; though it was known, that the true cause of the displeasure they had against that Divine was, that they knew he was the Author of the excellent Relation of the Lord *Montrose's* Actions in *Scotland*. This carriage and behaviour of those Lords appear'd ridiculous to all sober Men, that any Men should have the presumption to accuse those who had serv'd the King with that Fidelity, and were only branded by those Rebellious Judicatories for having perform'd their duties of Allegiance, and to demand that the King himself should condemn them for having serv'd his Father: which made those of his Majesty's Council full of Indignation at their Insolence, and his Majesty himself declar'd his being offended, by using the Marquis of *Montrose* with the more countenance, and hearing the Doctor Preach with the more attention. But from this very absurd behaviour, besides his Majesty's desire being frustrated, of receiving the joynt advice of the Nobility of that Kingdom in an affair that so much concern'd himself and them; and besides the displeasure, and distance, that it caus'd between them and the King's Council (who thought the *Scotish* Lords might as reasonably move the King, that they might be remov'd, who lay under the same brand, and reproaches in *England* for adhering to the Crown, as the other did in *Scotland*) the King had reason to be troubled with another apprehension, which was, that the Marquis of *Montrose* (who could not be ignorant of any thing which the other Persons said or did) would, out of just indignation, take revenge upon those Persons whom he condemn'd too much; and so that the Peace of the Country, where his Majesty was but a Guest, would be violated by his Subjects, as it were in his own fight; which would make his absence from thence the more desirable.

He, to whom this unreasonable Animosity was most imputed, and who indeed was the great Fomentor, and Prosecutor of it, was the Earl of *Lantherdale*; whose fiery Spirit was not capable of any moderation. One of the Council conferring one day with him upon a subject that could not put him into passion, and so being in a very fair conversation, desir'd him "to inform him, what foul Offence the Marquis of *Montrose* had ever committed, that should hinder those "make a conjunction with him, who, in respect of the Ro-

"bels, were in as desperate a condition as himself, and who
 "could not more desire the King's Restitution than he did.
 The Earl told him calmly enough, "that he could not ima-
 "gine, or conceive the Barbarities and Inhumanities *Moun-*
 "trose was guilty of, in the time he made a War in *Scotland*; *Earl of Lau-*
 "that he never gave Quarter to any Man, but pursued all the *therdale's*
 "Advantages he ever got, with the utmost outrage and Cru- *discourse*
 "elty: that he had in one Battle kill'd fifteen hundred of one *against*
 "Family, of the *Campbells*, of the blood and name of *Argyle*,
 "and that he had utterly rooted out several Names, and en-
 "tire noble Families. The other told him, "that it was the
 "Nature and Condition of that War, that Quarter was given
 "on neither side; that those Prisoners which were taken
 "by the *Scots*, as once they did take some Persons of Ho-
 "nour of his Party, were afterwards in cold blood hang'd re-
 "proachfully, which was much worse than if they had been
 "kill'd in the Field; and asked him, "if *Mountrose* had ever
 "caused any Man to dye in cold Blood, or after the Battle
 "was ended; since what was done in it *flagrante*, was more
 "to be imputed to the fierceness of his Soldiers, than to his
 "want of humanity. The Earl confessed, "that he did not
 "know he was guilty of any thing but what was done in
 "the Field; but concluded with more passion, "that his be-
 "haviour there was so Savage, that *Scotland* would never for-
 "give him. And in other Company, where the same Sub-
 "ject was debated, he swore with great passion, "that though
 "he wish'd nothing more in this World than to see the King
 "Restor'd, he had much rather that he should never be Re-
 "stor'd, than that *James Graham* should be permitted to
 "come into the Court: & which Declaration of his the King
 "was inform'd by *William Legg* and *Sr William Armorer*, who
 "were both present at the *Hague*, and in the Company, when
 "he said it.

THERE was at that time in the *Hague* the Lord *New-*
burgh, who, after the Murder of the late King, was com-
 pell'd together with his Wife, the Lady *Aubigny*, to fly out
 of *England*, *Cromwell* every day making discoveries of corre-
 spondencies which had been between the King and them.
 And thereupon they made an escape from thence, and came
 to the *Hague*. That Lord having been too young to have had
 a part in the former War, had been then sent by his Majesty's
 direction, to be bred in *France*; from whence he return'd
 not till his Majesty was in the hands of the *Scottish* Army;
 and from that time he perform'd all the Offices of Fidelity,
 and Duty to the King, that a generous and worthy Person
 could find any opportunity for: with which his Majesty was

abundantly satisfied and pleased : and he now Transported himself and his Wife into *Holland*, that he might leave her there, and himself attend the King in any Expedition.

THIS Lady was a Woman of a very great Wit, and most trusted and conversant in those Intrigues, which at that time could be best manag'd and carried on by Ladies, who with less jealousy could be seen in all Companies : and so she had not been a stranger to the most secret Transactions with the *Scots*, and had much Conversation with the Lord *Lewick*, during the time the King was at *Hampton Court*, and whilst he stay'd afterwards in *London*, when the King was Imprison'd in the Isle of *Wight* ; and being now both in the *Hague*, they had much Conversation together. She had likewise had long Acquaintance, and Friendship with one of the Council, who, she knew, had been as much trusted as any by the Father, and was believ'd to have Credit with the present King. She lamented those Divisions amongst the *Scots*, which every Body spoke of, and every Body knew the disorder they produced in the King's Councils ; and said, " she desir'd nothing more, than that there were a good understanding between " Duke *Hamilton* and Him ; which, she said, " she was sure " would easily be, if they two had but once a frank Conference together. The other, who indeed had an esteem for the Duke, seem'd very desirous of it : and she thereupon told him, that " the Duke had express'd to her, that he " would be willing to embrace the occasion : and it was so concerted, that within a day or two, they met as by chance at her Lodgings. And she so dextrously introduc'd them to a Civility towards each other, and to express their Inclinations to a mutual freedom, that after an hour's general Conversation there, to which she left them, and went her self abroad, they parted with fair professions of future good Will ; and the other promised to visit the Duke the next morning early, that they might have the more time without being interrupted, and he was with him accordingly, and found him in his bed. They continued together near two hours, the Duke having commanded his Servant to tell any who came to visit him, that he was asleep. The other, spoke of " the Proclamation, and the manner of inviting the King into *Scotland*, " and of the strange Spirit that possessed those who govern'd " there, and perswaded them to imagine it possible, that the " King could ever be prevail'd with to take the Covenant, " or that it could be of Advantage to him to do so ; since it " could not but much alienate the Affections of all that Party " in *England* that had serv'd his Father, upon whom he ought " chiefly to depend for his Restoration to the Government of " that

Conference
between
Duke Hamilton
and an English
Privy-Coun-
sellor, con-
cerning the
Affairs of
Scotland.

+ The Chancellor of Exchequer.

“that Kingdom. Then he spoke of “the differences and
 “jealousies which were between those of that Nation who
 “had an equal desire to serve the King, and seem’d to be
 “equally prosecuted by the Party that now prevail’d, which
 “had excluded both; and wish’d “that some Expedient
 “might be found out to Unite all those; and particularly that
 “his Grace and the Marquis of *Montrose* might be reconcil’d;
 “towards which, he said, he was sure that the Marquis had
 “great Inclination, and had always esteem’d him a Man of
 “Honour; which appear’d by the Book which was publish’d,
 “where he was always worthily mention’d, though he had
 “not dealt so well with many others.

WHEN the Duke had heard him with very civil attention,
 he told him as to the first part, “concerning the Proclama-
 “tion, and the manner of inviting the King to come to them,
 “he was not to make any other judgement by it, than only
 “of the Person of the Marquis of *Argyle*; who, with the
 “Assistance of some few Ministers, and others his Creatures,
 “did at present Govern: that *Argyle* well knew there was
 “an absolute necessity, in respect of the whole People, to
 “Proclaim the King after the Murder of his Father; and
 “therefore he could find no other way to keep him from
 “coming thither, but by clogging the Proclamation and Mes-
 “sage with those unworthy Expressions, which might deter
 “him from putting himself into their hands; which *Argyle*
 “did not wish he should do, because in his absence he was
 “sure he should Govern all, being well agreed with *Cromwell*
 “how the Government should be carried; and so the King
 “might be kept out, *Cromwell* would support him against all
 “other Parties; but that they both knew well enough, that
 “if his Majesty were once there, the whole Nation would
 “stick to him and obey him. He confess’d, “that there was
 “generally so great a Superstition for the Covenant, that who-
 “soever should speak against it for the present, would lose
 “all credit, though he did acknowledge it had done much
 “Mischief, and would do more whilst it should be insisted
 “upon; but, he said, “that must be a work of time, and an
 “effect of the King’s Government: which would find it ne-
 “cessary, in many other respects, to lessen the power of the
 “Ministers; which being lessen’d, the Reverence of the Co-
 “venant would quickly fall too; and till then He, and all
 “Men, must have patience. For the second, he said, “he
 “wished heartily that there could be a Union of all Parties
 “which desired the King’s Restoration, and that the Animo-
 “sity against the Marquis of *Montrose* might be extinguished.
 “For his own part, that he had only one Quarrel against
 “him,

"him, which was that, by his unjust Calumnies and Pro-
 "cution, he had driven him into Rebellion; which nothing
 "else could have done. And for that he always asked God
 "forgiveness from his Heart, and desired nothing more than
 "to repair his fault by losing his life for the King; and would,
 "with all his Heart, joyne to morrow with the Marquis of
 "*Mountrose*, in carrying on the King's Service, though he
 "did believe, in that conjuncture, the Animosity against the
 "Marquis was so great, that if he should declare such an In-
 "clination, all his own Friends would fall from him, and
 "abhor him. He said, "his own Condition was very hard;
 "for that having been always bred up in the Church of *Eng-
 "land*, for which he had a great Reverence, he was forced
 "to comply with the Covenant; which he perfectly detested,
 "and looked upon it as the ruin of his Nation; and would
 "be as glad as any Man of a good opportunity to declare a-
 "gainst it. But, said he, "I dare not say this; and if I did,
 "I should have no power or credit to serve the King. There
 "is, said he, "a very worthy Gentleman, who Lodges in this
 "House, the Earl of *Lautberdale*, my Friend and my Kin-
 "man; who, upon my Conscience, loves me heartily; and
 "yet I dare say nothing of this to him, either against the
 "Covenant, or for the Marquis of *Mountrose*: and, if I
 "should, I believe he would rather choose to kill me, than
 "to joyne with me: so much he is transported with prejudice
 "in both these particulars, and so incapable to hear reason
 "upon either of those Arguments, though, in all other things,
 "few Men have a better Understanding, or can discourse
 "more reasonably.

WHILEST they continued in all possible freedom in this
 conference, the Earl of *Lautberdale*, who it seems was in-
 form'd of the others being there, came in his Night-Gown
 into the Chamber, and so broke off the discourse. The other,
 after sitting some time in general Conversation, departed. And
 there continued afterwards all civility between the Duke and
 him. But as himself told the Lady *Aubigney*, who shortly af-
 ter died there, "he could not, without giving jealousy to his
 "Friend *Lautberdale*, which he had no mind to do, spend so
 "much time with the other in private as he could have been
 "willing to have done: and the death of that Lady lessen'd
 the opportunities.

IN this unsteady and irresolute condition of the King's
 Council, it was very manifest, that, how long soever his Ma-
 jesty should defer the resolution, to what place he would re-
 move, he should not be able to stay long in the place where
 he was. The States, especially those of *Holland*, let fall

some

Man who was killed, was in truth their own Subject, and employed to them, as a publick Minister, by those with whom they had no mind to have any Quarrel. Upon all which his Majesty concluded, that his presence there would quickly appear more unacceptable than ever: besides, that there had been the same night some Quarrels, and Fighting in the Streets between some Servants of the King and some Gentlemen of the Town; in which a Son of one of the States was dangerously hurt, though he recover'd afterwards.

It cannot be denied but that the States proceeded upon these disorders, to which they had not been accusom'd, with great gravity, and more than ordinary respect to the King. They were highly offended with what was past, and sensible what expostulations, and clamour for Justice they must expect, and sustain from *England*, and what reproaches they must undergo for suffering all those who had been guilty of such a Crime, to escape the Ministers of Justice; which could not but be imputed to them, as a great scandal to their Government: Yet they proceeded very slowly in their Inquisition, and with such formalities as were usual. (and which could bring no prejudice to the Offenders; who were either gone out of their Dominions, or concealed themselves in other Towns, where the same formalities were to be used, if they were discover'd) and without so much reflection upon the King, as if they believ'd that the guilty Persons had any relation to his Service: Yet they took notice of "the multitude of Strangers which were in the Town, and how impossible it would be for them to preserve the Peace, and good Government thereof, if such resort were not restrain'd. They aggravated exceedingly "the indignity that had been offer'd "to the State it self, in the attempt that had been made upon "a Person under Their Protection, and for whose safety the "Publick Faith was, upon the matter, engag'd; with insinuation enough, "that it would be fit for the King to remove "from thence. Of all which his Majesty receiving advertisement, he thought it better himself to give them notice of his purpose to leave them, than to expect a plain Injunction from them to do so. He found this more necessary to be done, since from the time that the *Scottish* Commissioners were come thither, they had taken great pains to infuse into the opinions of that People, "that they were sent from the Kingdom of "*Scotland*, that was entirely and unanimously at his Majesty's disposal, to invite him to repair thither, and to take "possession of his Government there, where there was already an Army preparing to assist him towards the recovery "of his other Dominions; but that there was a Party of evil

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“ Counsellors about his Majesty, who dissuaded him from accepting that their Invitation, except they would be content to change the Government of their Church, and to establish Episcopacy there again. And by these insinuations they persuaded many of the States to believe, that the defence of Bishops, for whom they had no regard, was the sole difference between the King and Them, which kept the King from going into *Scotland*: So that the King was not without some apprehension, that by that mistake and false Information, the States might give him advice to accept the *Scots* Invitation. And therefore he sent to the States of *Holland*, “ that he had a desire to say somewhat to them, if they would assign him an Audience the next day ; which they readily did.

THE King was receiv'd in the same manner he had been formerly, and being conducted into the Room of Council, after a short Compliment, he deliver'd a Paper to them, which he desired might be read, and that he might receive their advice thereupon as soon as they pleas'd. The Memorial contain'd, in the first place, his Majesty's acknowledgement of the Civilities he had receiv'd there, and his desire “ that by them the States General (who were not at that time assembled) “ might be inform'd of such his Majesty's sense of their kindness ; especially in the full and high detestation they had express'd of the impious, and unparallel'd Murder of “ his Royal Father of Blessed Memory, their fast and unshaken Ally, by which the Forms and Rules of all kind of Government were no less violated and dissolv'd, than that of Monarchy : That he came to inform them that he did intend, “ in a short time, so to dispose of his Person, as might with God's Blessing most probably advance his Affairs ; and that “ for the better doing thereof, and that he might in so important an Affair receive their particular advice, he should impart to them the true state and condition of his several Dominions. That he needed not inform them of the deplorable condition of his Kingdom of *England*, where the Hearts “ and Affections of his Loyal Subjects were so depressed, and “ kept under by the Power and Cruelty of those who had Murder'd their late Sovereign, and who every day gave fresh “ and bloody instances of their Tyranny, to fright Men from their Allegiance, that for the present no Man could believe “ that miserable Kingdom could be fit for his Majesty to trust his Person in : That in *Scotland*, it is very true, that his Majesty is proclaim'd King, but with such limitations, and restrictions against his exercise of his Royal Power, that in truth they had only given him the Name, and denied him the Authority : That above five parts of six of the Nobility

"and chief Gentry of that Kingdom, were likewise excluded
 "from their just Right, and from any part in the Administration
 "of the Publick Affairs; so that That Kingdom seem'd not
 "sufficiently prepar'd for his Majesty's reception; but that he
 "hoped, and doubred not, that there would be in a short time
 "a perfect Union, and right understanding between all his
 "Subjects of that his Kingdom, and a due submission and obedience
 "from them all to his Majesty, for that he was resolv'd (and had never had the least purpose to the contrary)
 "to preserve and maintain the Government of Church and
 "State in that Kingdom, as it is establish'd by the Laws thereof,
 "without any violation or alteration on his part: So that
 "there could be no difference between him and his Subjects
 "of that Kingdom, except they should endeavour, and pretend
 "his Majesty to alter the Laws and Government of his other
 "Kingdoms; which as it would be very unreasonable to desire,
 "so it is not in his power to do if he should consent,
 "and joyn with his Subjects of *Scotland* to that purpose: which
 "made him confident, that, when they had thoroughly weigh'd
 "and consider'd what was good for themselves, as well as for
 "Him, they would acquiesce with enjoying the Laws and
 "Privileges of that Kingdom, without desiring to infringe or
 "impose upon those of their Brethren and Neighbours. And
 "his Majesty desir'd the States, "that if any Persons had endeavour'd
 "to make any impressions upon them, that he hath, or ever had
 "other intentions or desires, with reference to his Subjects of
 "*Scotland*, than what himself now express'd to them to have,
 "that they would give no Credit to them: And assured them,
 "that they should always find him constant to those resolutions,
 "and especially, that all ways and means which might lead
 "to the advancement and propagation of the Protestant Religion,
 "should be so heartily embraced by him, that the World should
 "have cause to believe him to be worthy of his Title of *Defender of the Faith*,
 "which he valued as his greatest Attribute.

THIS being the true present condition of his two Kingdoms of
England and *Scotland*, and it being necessary for his Majesty,
 to give life to the afflicted state of his Affairs by his own
 Personal Activity and Vigour, he told them, "there remain'd
 "only, that he should impart to them the like State of his
 "other Kingdom of *Ireland*; which had likewise sent to him,
 "and desired him to repair thither with great importunity:
 "That the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Lieutenant there, had
 "concluded a Peace with the Roman Catholics; and that thereby
 "his Majesty was entirely possess'd of three parts of four
 "of that his large and fruitful Kingdom, and of the

"Com-

“Command of good Armies, and of many good Ships to be
 “joyn’d to his own Fleet; and that he had reason to hope
 “and to believe that *Dublin* it self, and the few other places,
 “which had submitted to the Rebellious power in *England*,
 “either already were, upon the knowledge of that odious
 “Parricide, return’d to their Allegiance, or would speedily be
 “reduced; of which he expected every day to receive Ad-
 “vertisement; which if it should fall out, yet he foresaw
 “many objections might be made against his going thither,
 “not only in regard of the difficulty and danger of his pas-
 “sage, but of the jealousies which would arise upon the large
 “Concessions which were made unto the Roman Catholics
 “of that Kingdom; which could not be avoided. And
 “having thus given them a clear Information of the State of
 “his three Kingdoms, his Majesty concluded with his desire,
 “that the States would give him their advice as freely, to
 “which of them he should repair; and that they would
 “give him all necessary assistance that he might prosecute
 “their Counsel.

MANY Men fear’d, that the King would have brought
 great prejudice to himself by this Communication, and, upon
 the matter, obliged himself to follow their Advice; which
 they apprehended would be contrary to his own Judgement.
 For nothing was more commonly discoursed among the *Dutch*,
 and by many of the States themselves, than “that the King
 “ought, without delay, to throw himself into the Armes of
 “*Scotland*, and to gratify them in all they desir’d: That
 “Bishops were not worth the contending for; and that the
 “supporting Them, had been the ruin of his Father, and
 “would be His, if he continued in the same obstinacy. But
 the King had reason to believe that they would not so much
 concern themselves in his broken Affairs, as to give him Ad-
 vice what to do: And it was necessary for him to get a little
 more time, upon some occurrences which would every day
 happen, before he took a positive resolution which way to
 steer: For though, in his own opinion, *Ireland* was the place
 to which he was to repair, yet he knew that notwithstanding
 the Peace that was made, there were several Parties still in
 Armes there, besides those who adher’d to the Parliament,
 who refused to submit to that Peace. Though the General
 Council at *Kilkenny* (which had been always look’d upon as
 the Representative of the Confederate Catholics of that King-
 dom, and to which they had always submitted) had fully con-
 sented to the Treaty of Peace with the Lord Lieutenant,
 yet *Owen O Neile*, who had the Command of all the *Irish* in
Ulster, and who was looked upon as the best General they
 had

had, totally refused to submit to it, and positively protested against it, as not having provided for their Interest; and the Council was not sorry for his separation, there being less Animosity between those of *Ulster* and the other *Irish*, than was between them both and the *English*: And they knew that *O Neile* more insisted upon recompence in Lands and Preferments, than upon any provision that concern'd Religion it self. Then the *Scots* in *Ulster*, who were very numerous, and under good discipline, and well provided with Armes and Ammunition, would not submit to the Commands of the Lord Lieutenant; but were resolv'd to follow the example of their Country-men, and to see the King admitted and receiv'd, as well as proclaim'd, before they would submit to his Authority: which made the Marquis of *Ormond* the less-troubled at the Obstinacy of *O Neile* (though he had used all the means he had to draw him in) since he presumed the *Scots* and He would mortify each other, during the time that he should spend in making himself strong enough to suppress them both: For the *Scots* who would not joy with the Marquis, were very vigorous in prosecuting the War against *O Neile*, and the *Irish* of *Ulster*. These Divisions, Factions, and Confusions in *Ireland*, made the King the more solicitous that his Council should be unanimous for his going thither, at least that the *Scots*, how virulent soever against each other, should all concur in their Advice, "that it was not yet seasonable for him to go for *Scotland*; which made him labour so much to bring the *Hamiltonians*, and those who follow'd *Mountrose*, whom he believed both to be of that opinion, to meet together, and to own it joyntly to the King in Council: But it is said before how impossible it was to obtain that Conjunction.

WHEN the King found, that it was not possible to bring the Lords of the *Scottish* Nation together to confer upon the Affairs of that Kingdom, he thought to have drawn them severally, that is, those of the *Engagement* by themselves, and the Marquis of *Mountrose* with his Friends by themselves, to have given him their Advice in the presence of his Council, that so, upon Debate thereof between them, his Majesty might the more maturely have determin'd what he was to do. The Marquis of *Mountrose* express'd a great willingness to give his Majesty satisfaction this, or any other way, being willing to deliver his opinion concerning Things, or Persons, before any Body, and in any place. But the Lords of the *Engagement* positively refused to deliver their opinion, but to the King himself, and not in the presence of his Council; which, they said, "would be to confess a kind of subordi-

"not

'tion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was independent on the Council of *England*; and Duke *Hamilton* told the Counsellor, with whom he had before so freely conversed, and who expostulated with him upon it, "that it was the only ground of the heavy judgement in Parliament against the Earl of *Traquair*, that, having been the King's Commissioner in *Scotland*, he gave account to the King of transactions, and of the affairs of that Kingdom, at the Council-Table in *England*; whereof he was likewise a Member; so jealous that Kingdom was, and still is, of their Native Privileges; and therefore desired, "that he might not be pressed to do what had been so penal to another in his own fight.

THE King satisfied himself with having all their opinions deliver'd to himself, subscribed under all their hands, which every one consented to: though most of them would have been glad that the King would have gone into *Scotland*, upon what condescensions soever; because they all believ'd His presence would easily turn all, and that they should be quickly restored to their Estates, which they cared most for; yet no body presumed to give that advice, or seem'd to think it reasonable. So that the King resumed the former Debate of going directly for *Ireland*, and direction was given for providing Ships, and all other things necessary for that Voyage. There remain'd only one doubt, whether his Majesty should take *France* in his way, that he might see his Mother, who by Letters and Messages pressed him very earnestly so to do; or whether he should embark in *Holland* directly for *Ireland*; which would be less loss of time, and might be done early in the Spring, before the Parliament's Fleet should put out to sea.

THEY who did not wish that the Queen should exercise any power over the King, or have too much credit with him, were against his going into *France*, as "an occasion of spending more time than his Affairs would permit, and an obligation to make a greater Expence than he had, or knew where to have, means to defray: and they thought it an Argument of moment, "that from the time of the Murther of his Father, the King had never receiv'd Letter of condolment from *France*, nor the least invitation to go thither. On the other side, they who wish'd, and hop'd that the Queen would have such an influence upon the King that his Council should have less credit with him, desired very much that his Majesty would make *France* his way. The Scots desired it very much, believing they should find her Majesty very propitious to their Counsels, and inclined to trust their

their undertakings; and they were very sure that *Monsieur* would never go to *Paris*, or have credit with the Queen.

THE Prince of *Orange*, and the Princess Royal his Wife, had a great desire to gratify the Queen, and that the King should see her in the way; and proposed "that his Majesty might appoint a place, where the Queen and He might meet, without going to *Paris*; and, after three or four days stay together, his Majesty might hasten his Journey to some convenient Port, from whence he might embark for *Ireland* by a shorter passage than from *Holland*; and the Prince of *Orange* would appoint two Ships of War, to attend his Majesty in that *French* Port, before he should get thither. His Majesty inclined this way, without positively resolving upon it; yet directed "that his own Goods of bulk, and his inferior Servants, should be presently embarked to take the directest passage to *Ireland*; and order'd "that the rest, who were to wait upon his Person, should likewise send their Goods and Baggage, and such Servants who were not absolutely necessary for their present Service, upon the same Ships for *Ireland*; declaring, "that, if he made *France* his way, he would make all possible hast, and go with as light a train as he could. Hereupon two Ships were shortly after provided, and many Persons (and great store of Baggage) embark'd for *Ireland*, and arriv'd there in safety; but most of the Persons, and all the Goods, miscarried in their return, when they knew that the King was not to come thither, upon the accidents that afterwards fell out there.

THIS Resolution being taken, the Lord *Cottington*, who had a just excuse from his Age, being then seventy five years old, to wish to be in some repose, consider'd with himself how to become disintangled from the fatigue of those Voyages and Journies, which he saw the King would be obliged to make. In *Holland* he had no mind to stay, having never lov'd that People, nor been lov'd by them; and he thought the Climate it self was very pernicious to his health, by reason of the Gout, which frequently visited him. *France* was as ungrateful to him, where he had not been kindly treated, and was look'd upon as one who had been always addicted to *Spain*, and no friend to the Crown of *France*; so that he was willing to find a good occasion to spend the remainder of his age where he had spent so much of his youth, in *Spain*, and where he believ'd that he might be able to do the King more Service than any other way. And there was newly come to the *Hague* an *English* Gentleman, who had been an Officer in the King's Army, and was in *Madrid* when the News came thither of the Murder of the King: and he re-
Lord

2 to p. 264

ated many particulars of the passion and indignation of that Court, upon that occasion, against the Rebels; that "the King, and all the Court, put themselves into solemn Mourning: (and he repeated some Expressions which the King and *Don Lewis de Haro* had made of tenderness and compassion for our King) and that "the King of *Spain* (spoke of sending an Embassadour to his Majesty.

THESE relations, and any thing of that kind, how weakly soever founded, were very willingly heard. And from hence the Lord *Cottingham* took occasion to confer with the ^{Conference} Chancellor of the Exchequer (with whom he held a strict ^{between the} Friendship, they living, and keeping House together) of "the ^{Lord Cottingham} ill condition the King was in, and that he ought to think, ^{and the} "what Prince's kindness was like to be of most use and benefit to his Majesty, and from whom he might hope to receive a Sum of Money; if not as much as might serve for a Martial Expedition, yet such an annual Exhibition as ^{the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning the} might serve for his support: that he had already experience ^{King's sending an Emb.} of *France*, and knew well the Intelligence that the Cardinal had at that very time with *Cromwell*: but he did verily believe, that if the King of *Spain* were dexterously treated with, and not more asked of him than could consist with his Affairs to spare, a good yearly support might be procured There, and the expectation of it might be worth the King's sending an Embassadour thither. He said, "he was more of that opinion since the King had taken the resolution of going for *Ireland*; where the King of *Spain's* credit might be of great benefit to him: that *Owen O Neil*, and the old *Irish* of *Ulster*, were still in Arms against the King; and would not submit to the conditions which the general Council of the Confederate Catholicks had consented to with the Marquis of *Ormond*: that *O Neil* had been bred in *Spain*, and had a Regiment in *Flanders*, and so must have an absolute dependence upon his Catholick Majesty, for whom all the old *Irish* had ever had a particular devotion; and if it were only to dispose Him and that People to the King's obedience, and to accept those conditions which might conveniently be given to them, it were well worth such a Journey; and the King of *Spain* would never refuse to gratify the King to the utmost that could be desired in that particular. The Chancellor thought this discourse not unreasonable, and asked him, "who would be fit to be sent thither? not imagining that he had any thought of going thither Himself. He Answer'd, "that, if the King would be advised by him, he should send them two thither, and he did believe they should do him very good Service.

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THE Chancellor was weary of the Company he was in, and the business, which, having no prospect but towards despair, was yet render'd more grievous by the continual Contentions and Animosities between Persons. He knew he was not in the Queen's Favour at all, and should find no respect in that Court. However, he was very scrupulous, that the King might not suspect that he was weary of his Attendance, or that any Body else might believe that he, withdrew himself from waiting longer upon so desperate a Fortune. In the end, he told the Lord *Cottingham* "that he would only be passive in the point, and refer it entirely to Him, if he thought fit to dispose the King to like it; and if the King approv'd it so much as to take notice of it to the Chancellor, and commend it as a thing he thought for his Service, he would submit to his Command.

The King
declares that he
was to be his
Embassadour.

THE Lord *Cottingham's* Heart was much set upon this employment, and he magnag'd so warily with the King, and presented the whole Scheme to him so dexterously, that his Majesty was much pleas'd with it; and shortly after declared his Resolution publicly, "to send the Lord *Cottingham*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his Embassadours Extraordinary into *Spain*; and Commanded them "to prepare their own Commission, and Instructions; and to begin their Journey as soon as was possible.

BEFORE the King could begin his own Journey for *France*, and so to *Ireland*, his Majesty thought it necessary, upon the whole prospect of his Affairs with reference to all places, to put his business into as good a method as he could, and to dispose of that number of Officers, and Soldiers, and other Persons, who had presented themselves to be applied to his Service, or to leave them to take the best course they could for their own Subsistence. Of these, many were sent into *Ireland* with the Ships which carried the King's Goods, with recommendation to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "to put them into his Army till the King came thither. Since the *Scots* were no better dispos'd to serve, or receive the King for the present, his Majesty was resolv'd to give the Marquis of *Montrose* all the Encouragement he desired to visit them, and to incline them to a better temper.

THERE was then at the *Hague Cornelius Welfche*, Embassadour extraordinary from the King of *Denmark* to the States General; who came with a great Train and great State, and was himself a Man of vanity and ostentation, and took pains to be thought so great a Man by his own Interest, that he did not enough extol the power of his Master; which prov'd his ruin after his return. He had left *Denmark* before the

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News came thither of the Murther of the King, and so he had no Credentials for his Majesty, by reason whereof he could not receive any publick formal Audience ; but desired " the King's leave that he might, as by accident, be admitted to " speak to him at the Queen of *Bobemia's* Court ; where his Majesty used to be every day ; and there the Embassadour often spoke to him. The Marquis of *Mountrose* had found means to endear himself much to this Embassadour, who gave him encouragement to hope for a very good reception in *Denmark*, if the King would send him thither, and that he might obtain Armes and Ammunition there for *Scotland*. The Embassadour told him, " that, if the King would write " a Letter to him to that purpose, he would presently supply " him with some Money and Armes, in assurance that his Majesty would very well approve of what he should do. The Marquis of *Mountrose* well knew, that the King was not able to supply him with the least proportion of Money to begin his Journey ; and therefore he had only proposed, " that the King would give him Letters, in the form he prescribed, to " several Princes in *Germany*, whose affections he pretended " to know ; which Letters he sent by several Officers, who were to bring the Soldiers or Armes they should obtain, to a Rendezvous he appointed near *Hamburg* ; and resolv'd himself to go into *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in hope to get supplies in both those places, both from the Crowns, and by the contribution of many *Scotish* Officers, who had Command and Estates in those Countries ; and to have Credentials, by virtue of which he might appear Embassadour extraordinary from the King, if he should find it expedient ; though he did intend rather to negotiate his business in private, and without any publick Character. All this was resolv'd before his confidence, at least his familiarity with the Embassadour, was grown less. But, upon the Encouragement he had from him, he mov'd the King " for his Letter to the Embassadour, to " assist the Marquis of *Mountrose* with his Advice, and with " his Interest in *Denmark*, and in any other Court, to the end " that he might obtain the Loan of Monies, Armes, and Ammunition, and whatever else was necessary to enable the " Marquis to prosecute his intended Descent into *Scotland*. The King, glad that he did not press for ready Money, which he was not able to supply him with, gave him such Letters as he desired to all Persons, and particularly to the Embassadour himself, who, having order from his Master to present the King with a Sum of Money for his present occasions, never inform'd the King thereof, but advis'd *Mountrose* to procure such a Letter from his Majesty to him ; which being done, the

Marquis

*The Marquis
of Moun-
trofe goes to
Hamburg.*

Marquis receiv'd that Money from him, and likewise his Armes; with which he begun his unfortunate Enterprize; and prosecuted his Journey to *Hamburg*; where he expected to meet his *German* Troops, which he believ'd the Officers he had sent thither with the King's Letters would be well able to raise, with the assistance of those Princes to whom they had been sent. But he was carried on by a stronger assurance he had receiv'd from some prophecies, and predictions, to which he was naturally given, "that he should by his valour recover *Scotland* for the King, and from thence conduct an Army that should settle his Majesty in all his other Dominions.

THERE had been yet nothing done by the King with reference to *England* since the Murder of his Father; nor did there appear any thing, of any kind, to be attempted as yet there; there was so terrible a Consternation, that still possessed the Spirits of that People, that though Men's Affections were greater, and more general for the King, out of the Horror and Detestation they had of the late Parricide, yet the owning it was too penal for their broken Courage; nor was it believ'd possible for any Man to contribute any thing, at present, for their Deliverance. However, most Men were of opinion, "that it was necessary for the King to publish some Declaration, that he might not seem utterly to give over his Claim there; and to keep up the Spirits of his Friends. And many from *England*, who in the midst of their despair would give some Counsel, advis'd, "that there might be somewhat publish'd by the King that might give some Check to the general submitting to the *Engagement*, which "was so universally pressed there. The King being every day advertis'd, how much this was desired and expected, and the *Scottish* Lords being of the same opinion, hoping that somewhat might be insert'd in it that might favour the Presbyterians, his Majesty propos'd at the Council "that there "might be some draught prepar'd of a Proclamation, or Declaration, only with reference to the Kingdom of *England*; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had been most conversant in Instruments of that nature, was appointed to make one ready; though he had declared, "that he did not "know what such a Declaration could contain, and therefore "that he thought it not seasonable to publish any. The Prince of *Orange* was present at that Council, and whether from his own opinion, or from the Suggestion of the *Scottish* Lords, who were much favour'd by him, he wish'd, "that, "in regard of the great differences which were in *England* "about matters of Religion, the King would offer, in this "Dech-

*The Chancellor of the
Exchequer
appointed to
make a Declaration re-
lating to
England.*

“Declaration, to refer all matters in controversy concerning Religion to a National Synod; in which there should be admitted some Foreign Divines from the Protestant Churches; which, he thought, would be a Popular Clause, and might be acceptable abroad as well as at home: and the King believ’d no objection could be made against it; and so thought fit that such a Clause should be inserted.

WITHIN a short time after the Council was parted, the Prince of *Orange* sent for the Lord *Cottington*, and told him, “he was not enough acquainted with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but desir’d him to intreat him not to be too sharp in this Declaration, the end whereof was to Unite, and Reconcile different Humours; and that he found many had a great apprehension, that the sharpness of His Style would irritate them much more. The Chancellor knew well enough that this came from the Lord *Leatherdale*, and he wished heartily that the Charge might be committed to any Body else, protesting, “that he was never less disposed in his own conceptions, and reflections, to undertake any such Task in his Life; and that he could not imagine how it was possible for the King to publish a Declaration at that time (his first Declaration) without much sharpness against the Murderers of his Father; which no Body could speak against; nor could he be excused from the Work imposed upon him: and the Prince of *Orange* assured him, “it was not that kind of sharpness which he wish’d should be declined: and though he seem’d not willing farther to explain himself, it was evident that he wish’d that there might not be any sharpness against the Presbyterians, for which there was at that time no occasion.

THERE was one particular, which, without a full and distinct Instruction, the Chancellor could not presume to express. The great end of this Declaration was to confirm the Affection of as many as was possible for the King, and, consequently, as few were to be made desperate, as might consist with the King’s Honour, and necessary Justice, so that how far that Clause, which was essential to a Declaration upon this subject, concerning the Indemnity of Persons, should extend, was the question. And in this there was difference of opinions; the most prevalent was, “that no Persons should be excepted from Pardon, but only such who had an immediate hand in the execrable Murder of the King, by being his Judges, and pronouncing that Sentence, and they who perform’d the Execution. Others said, they “knew that some were in the List of the Judges, and named by the Parliament, who found Excuses to be absent; and others,

that "some who were not named, more contriv'd and attributed to that odious proceeding, than many of the Act in it. But the resolution was, that the former should be only comprehended.

WHEN the Declaration was prepared, and read at the Board, there was a deep Silence, no Man speaking to any part of it. But another day was appointed for a second reading it, against which time every Man might be better prepared to speak to it: and in the mean time the Prince of Orange, in regard he was not a perfect Master of the English Tongue, desir'd he might have a Copy of it, that he might the better understand it. And the Chancellor of the Exchequer desir'd, "that not only the Prince of Orange might have a Copy, but that his Majesty would likewise have one, "and, after he should have perus'd it himself, he would shew "it to any other, who he thought was fit to advise with; there being many Lords and other Persons of Quality about him, who were not of the Council: and he mov'd, "that he "might have liberty himself to Communicate it to some who "were like to make a judgement, how far any thing of that "Nature was like to be acceptable, and agreeable to the minds "of the People; and named *Herbert* the Attorney General, and *Dr Steward*, who was Dean of the Chapel; and His opinion, in all things relating to the Church, the King had been advis'd by his Father to submit to. All which was approv'd by the King; and, for that reason, a farther day was appointed for the second reading. The Issue was, that, except two or three of the Council, who were of one and the same opinion of the whole, there were not two Persons who were admitted to the perusal of it, who did not take some exception to it, though scarce two made the same exception.

*Different
opinions in
the King's
Council about
it when
it was read.*

DOCTOR *Steward*, though a Man of a very good understanding, was so exceedingly griev'd at the Clause of admitting Forreign Divines into a Synod that was to Consult upon the Church of *England*, that he could not be satisfied by any Arguments that could be given of "the impossibility of any "effect, or that the Parliament would accept the Overture; "and that there could be no danger if it did, because the "Number of those Forreign Divines must be still limited by "the King; but came one Morning to the Chancellor, with whom he had a Friendship, and protested "he had not slept "that Night, out of the Agony and Trouble, that He, who "he knew lov'd the Church so well, should consent to a "Clause so much against the Honour of it; and went from him to the King, to beseech him never to approve it. Some were of opinion "that there were too few excepted from
"Pardon;

“ Pardon; by which the King would not have Confiscations
 “ enough to satisfy, and reward his Party : and others thought,
 “ that there were too many excepted ; and that it was not
 “ prudent to make so many Men desperate ; but that it would
 “ be sufficient to except *Cromwell*, and *Bradshaw*, and three or
 “ four more of those whose Malice was most notorious ; the
 “ whole Number not to exceed Six.

THE *Scots* did not value the Clause for Forreign Divines,
 who, they knew, could persuade little in an *English* Synod ;
 but they were implacably offended, that the King mention'd
 the Government of the Church of *England*, and the Book of
 Common-Prayer, with so much Reverence and Devotion ;
 which was the sharpness they most fear'd of the Chancellor's
 Style, when they thought now the Covenant to be necessary
 to be insisted upon more than ever. So that, when the De-
 claration was read at the Board the second time, most Men
 being mov'd with the discourses, and fears which were ex-
 press'd abroad of some ill effects it might produce, it was
 more faintly Debated, and Men seem'd not to think that the
 publishing any, at this time, was of so much importance, as
 they formerly had conceiv'd it to be. By all which Men may
 judge, how hard a thing it was for the King to resolve, and
 act with that steadiness and resolution, which the most un-
 prosperous Condition doth more require than the State that is
 less perplex'd and intangled. Thus the Declaration slept
 without farther proposition to publish any.

ALL things being now as much provided for as they were
 like to be, the two Embassadors for *Spain* were very solli-
 citous to begin their Journey, the King being at last resolv'd
 not to give his Mother the trouble of making a Journey to
 meet him, but to go himself directly to *St Germain's*, where
 her Majesty was. The Prince of *Orange*, to advance that re-
 solution, had promis'd to supply the King with twenty thou-
 sand pounds ; which was too great a Loan for him to make,
 who had already great debts upon him, though it was very
 little for the enabling the King to discharge the debts He
 and his Family had contracted at the *Hague*, and to make his
 Journey. Out of this Sum the Lord *Cottingham*, and the Chan-
 cellor, were to receive so much as was design'd to defray
 their Journey to *Paris* : what was necessary for the discharge
 of their Embassy, or for making their Journey from *Paris*, was
 not yet provided. The King had some hope, that the Duke
 of *Lorraine* would lend him some Money ; which he design'd
 for this service ; which made it necessary that they should im-
 mediately resort to *Brussels*, to finish that Negotiation, and
 from thence to prosecute their Journey.

IN the soliciting their first dispatch at the *Hague*, they made a discovery that seem'd very strange to them, though afterwards it was a truth that was very notorious. Their Journey having been put off some days, only for the receipt of that small Sum, which was to be paid them out of the Money to be lent by the Prince of *Orange*, and *Hamlet* the Prince's chief Officer in such affairs of Money having been some days at *Amsterdam* to negotiate that Loan, and no Money being return'd, they believ'd that there was some affected delay; and so went to the Prince of *Orange*, who had advis'd, and was well pleas'd with that Embassy, to know when that Money would be ready for the King, that he might likewise resolve upon the time for his own Journey. The Prince told them, he believ'd, "that They, who knew *London* so well, and "had heard so much discourse of the Wealth of *Holland*, "would wonder very much that he should have been endeavouring above ten days to borrow twenty thousand pounds; "and that the richest Men in *Amsterdam* had promised him "to supply him with it, and that one half of it was not yet "provided. He said, "it was not that there was any question of his credit, which was very good; and that the security he gave, was as good as any Body desir'd, and upon "which he could have double the Sum in less time, if he "would receive it in Paper, which was the Course of that "Country; where bargains being made for one hundred thousand pounds to be paid within ten days, it was never known "that twenty thousand pounds was paid together in one "Town; but by Bills upon *Rotterdam*, *Harlem*, the *Hague*, "and *Antwerp*, and other places, which was as convenient, "or more, to all Parties; and he did verily believe, that "though *Amsterdam* could pay a Million within a Month, "upon any good occasion, yet they would be troubled to "bring twenty thousand pounds together into any one Room; "and that was the true reason, that the Money was not yet "brought to the *Hague*; which it should be within few days; as it was accordingly.

The Embassadors for Spain begin their journey.

THE Embassadors took their leave of the King at the *Hague* before the middle of *May*, and had a Yatch from the Prince of *Orange*, that attended them at *Rotterdam*, and transported them with great convenience to *Antwerp*, where the Chancellor's Wife and his Family were arriv'd ten days before, and were settled in a good and convenient House; where the Lord *Cottingham* and He both Lodg'd whilst they stay'd in that City. There they met the Lord *Jermyns* in his way towards the King, to hasten the King's Journey into *France*, upon the Queen's great importunity. He was very glad

glad they were both come away from the King, and believ'd he should more easily prevail with his Majesty in all things, as indeed he did. After two or three days stay at *Antwerp*, they went to *Brussels* to deliver their Credentials both to the Arch-Duke, and the Duke of *Lorraine*, and to visit the *Spanish* Ministers, and, upon their Landing at *Brussels*, they took it for a good Omen, that they were assured "that *le Brune*, who had been one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty at *Munster*, on the behalf of the King of *Spain*, was then in that Town with Credentials to visit the King, and to condole with him. They had an Audience, the next day, of the Arch-Duke: they perform'd the Compliments to him from the King, and inform'd him of their Embassy into *Spain*, and desired his recommendation, and good Offices in that Court; which he, according to his slow, and formal way of speaking, consented to: and they had no more to do with Him, but receiv'd the visits from the Officers, in his Name, according to the style of that Court. Their main business was with the Duke of *Lorraine*, to procure Money for their Journey into *Spain*.

They visit
the Duke of
Lorraine at
Brussels.

THE Duke was a Prince that liv'd in a different manner from all other Sovereign Princes in the World: from the time, that he had been driven out of his Country by *France*, he had retir'd to *Brussels* with his Army, which he kept up very strong, and serv'd the King of *Spain* with it against the *French*, upon such terms, and conditions, as were made, and renew'd every year between them; by which he receiv'd great Sums of Money yearly from the *Spaniards*, and was sure very rich in Money. He always Commanded apart in the Field, his Officers receiv'd no Orders but from himself: He always agreed at the Council of War what he should do, and his Army was in truth the best part of the *Spanish* Forces. In the Town of *Brussels* he liv'd without any order, method, or state of a Prince, except towards the *Spaniards* in his Treaties, and being present in their Councils, where he always kept his full Dignity: otherwise, he liv'd in a jolly familiarity with the Bourgeois and their Wives, and feasted with them, but scarce kept a Court or any number of Servants, or Retinue. The House wherein he liv'd was a very ordinary one, and not furnish'd; nor was he often there, or easy to be found; so that the Embassadors could not easily send to him for an Audience. He receiv'd them in a lower Room with great Courtesy and Familiarity; and visited them at their own Lodging. He was a Man of great Wit, and presence of Mind, and, if he had not affected extravagancies, no Man knew better how to act the Prince. He lov'd his Money very much; yet the Lord *Cottingham's* dexterity and address, prevail'd with him to lend the

King two thousand Pistols; which was all that was in their view for defraying their Embassy. But they hoped they should procure some supply in *Spain*, out of which their own necessary Expences must be provided for.

THERE were two *Spaniards*, by whom all the Councils there were govern'd and conducted, and which the Arch-Duke himself could not controule; the Conde of *Pignoranda* (who was newly come from *Munster*, being the other Plenipotentiary there; and staid only at *Brussels*, in expectation of renewing the Treaty again with *France*; but, whilst he staid there, was in the highest Trust of all the Affairs) and the Conde of *Fuensaldagna*, who was the Governour of the Armes, and Commanded the Army next under the Arch-Duke; which was a subordination very little inferior to the being General. They were both very able and expert Men in business, and if they were not very wise Men, that Nation had none. The former was a Man of the Robe, of a great Wit, and much Experience, Proud, and, if he had not been a little too Pedantick, might very well be look'd upon as a very extraordinary Man, and was much improv'd by the excellent temper of *le Brune* (the other Plenipotentiary) who was indeed a wise Man, and by seeming to defer in all things to *Pignoranda*, govern'd him. The Conde of *Fuensaldagna* was of a much better temper, more industry, and more insinuation than *Spaniards* use to have: His greatest Talent lay to Civil business; yet he was the best General of that time to all other offices and purposes, than what were necessary in the hour of Battle, when he was not so present and compos'd as at all other seasons.

BOTH these receiv'd the Embassadours with the usual Civilities, and return'd their visits to their own Lodging, but seem'd not pleas'd with their Journey to *Madrid*, and spoke much of the necessities that Crown was in, and its disability to assist the King; which the Embassadours imputed to the influence *Don Alonso de Cardinas* had upon them both; who remain'd still under the same Character in *England* he had done for many years before. The same Civilities were perform'd between *le Brune* and them; who treated them with much more freedom, and encourag'd them to hope well from their Negotiation in *Spain*; acquainted them with his own Instructions, "to give the King all assurance of the affection of his Catholick Majesty, and of his readiness to do any thing for him that was in his power. He said, "he only "defer'd his Journey, because he heard that the King intend- "ed to spend some time at *Breda*; and he had rather attend "him There, than at the *Hague*.

WHEN the Embassadours had dispatch'd all their business

at *Brussels*, and receiv'd the Money from the Duke of *Lorraine*, they return'd to *Antwerp*; where they were to Negotiate for the return of their Monies to *Madrid*; which requir'd very much wariness, the Bills from thence finding now more difficulties at *Madrid*, than they had done in former times.

By the Letters my Lord *Jermyn* brought, and the opportunity he us'd, the King resolv'd to begin his Journey sooner than he thought to have done, that is sooner than he thought he should have been able, all provisions being to begin to be made both for his Journey into *France*, and from thence into *Ireland*, after the Money was receiv'd that should pay for them. But the Queen's impatience was so great to see his Majesty, that the Prince of *Orange*, and the Princess Royal his Wife, were as impatient to give her that satisfaction. Though her Majesty could not justly dislike any resolution the King had taken, nor could imagine whither he should go but into *Ireland*, she was exceedingly displeas'd that any resolution at all had been taken before she was consult'd. She was angry that the Counsellors were chosen without her directions, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude her from meddling in the Affairs; all which she imputed principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer: nevertheless she was not pleas'd with the design of the Negotiation in *Spain*. For though she had no confidence of his affection to her, or rather of his complying with all her Commands, yet she had all confidence in his Duty and Integrity to the King, and therefore wish'd he should be still about his Person, and trusted in his business; which she thought him much fitter for than such a Negotiation, which she believ'd, out of her natural prejudice to *Spain*, would produce no advantage to the King.

THAT the Queen might receive some content, in knowing that the King had begun his Journey, the Prince of *Orange* desir'd him, "whilst his Servants prepar'd what was necessary at the *Hague*, that Himself, and that part of his Train that was ready, would go to *Breda*, and stay there till the rest were ready to come up to him; that being his best way to *Flanders*, through which he must pass into *France*. *Breda* was a Town of the Prince's own, where he had a handsome Palace and Castle, and a place where the King might have many Divertisements. Hither the *Spanish* Embassadour *le Brune*, came to attend his Majesty, and deliver'd his Master's Compliments to his Majesty, and offer'd his own Services to him, whilst he should remain in those Provinces; he being at that time design'd to remain Embassadour to the *United Provinces*; as he did; and died shortly after at the *Hague* with a general regret.

regret. He was born a Subject to the King of *Spain*, in that part of *Burgundy* that was under his Dominion; and having been from his youth always bred in business, and being a Man of great Parts, and Temper, he might very well be looked upon as one of the best States men in Christendom, and who best understood the true Interest of all the Princes of *Europe*.

ASSOON as the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor, heard of the King's being at *Breda*, and that he intended to hasten his Journey for *France*, they resolv'd, having in truth not yet Negotiated all things necessary for their Journey, to stay till the King passed by, and not to go to *St Germain's* till the first Interview, and Eclaircisments were passed between the King and Queen, that they might then be the better able to judge what Weather was like to be.

THE King was receiv'd at *Antwerp* with great Magnificence: He enter'd in a very rich Coach with six Horses, which the Arch-Duke sent a present to him when he came into the *Spanish* Dominions: He was treated there, at the Charge of the City, very splendidly for two days: and went then to *Brussels*, where he was lodged in the Palace, and Royally entertained. But the *French* Army, under the Command of the *Comte de Harcourt*, was two days before set down before *Cambrai*; with the News whereof the *Spanish* Council was surpris'd, and in so much disorder, that the Arch-Duke was gone to the Army to *Mons*, and *Valenciennes*, whilst the King was in *Antwerp*; so that the King was receiv'd only by his Officers; who perform'd their parts very well.

HERE the *Comte de Pignoranda* waited upon the King in the Quality of an Embassadour, and cover'd. And his Majesty staid here three or four days, not being able suddenly to resolve which way he should pass into *France*. But he was not troubled long with that doubt; for the *French* thought to have surpris'd that Town, and to have cast up their Line of Circumvallation before any Supplies could be put in; but the *Comte Fuenfeldagna* found a way to put seven or eight hundred Foot into the Town; upon which the *French* raised the Siege; and so the King made his Journey by the usual way; and, near *Valenciennes*, had an Interview with the Arch-Duke; and, after some short Ceremonies, continued on his Journey, and lodged at *Cambrai*; where he was likewise treated by the *Comte de Garcies*, who was Governour there, and a very civil Gentleman.

The King
had an inter-
view with
the Arch-
Duke near
*Valenci-
ennes*.

ABOUT a week after the King left *Brussels*, the two Embassadours prosecuted their Journey for *Paris*; where they staid only one day, and then went to *St Germain's*; where the King and the Queen his Mother, with both their Families,

and

and the Duke of *York's*, then were; by whom they were receiv'd graciously. They had no reason to repent their caution in staying so long behind the King, for they found the Court so full of jealousy and disorder, that every Body was glad that they were come. After the first two or three days that the King and Queen had been together, which were spent in tears and lamentations for the great alteration that had happen'd since their last parting, the Queen began to confer with the King of his business, and what course he meant to take; in which she found him so reserv'd, as if he had no mind she should be conversant in it. He made no Apologies to her; which she expected; nor any professions of resigning himself up to her Advice. On the contrary, upon some expostulations, he had told her plainly, "that he would always perform his Duty towards her with great affection and exactness, but that in his business he would obey his own reason and judgement; and did as good as desire her not to trouble her self in his Affairs: and finding her passions strong, he frequently retired from her with some abruptness, and seem'd not to desire to be so much in her Company as she expected; and prescribed some new rules to be observ'd in his own retirement, which he had not been accusom'd to.

THIS kind of unexpected behaviour gave the Queen much trouble. She began to think, that this distance, which the King seem'd to affect, was more than the Chancellor of the Exchequer could wish; and that there was some Body else, who did her more disservice: insomuch as to the Ladies who were about her, whereof some were very much his Friends, he seem'd to wish, that the Chancellor were come. There was a Gentleman, who was newly come from *England*, and who came to the *Hague* after the Chancellor had taken his leave of the King, and had been ever since very close about him, being one of the Grooms of his Bed-Chamber, one Mr *Thomas Elliot*, a Person spoken of before; whom the King's Mr Elliot comes to the King this instant upon his Majesty. father had formerly sent into *France*, at the same time that he resolv'd the Prince should go for the West; and for no other reason, but that he should not attend upon his Son. And he had given order, "that if he should return out of *France*, and come into the West, the Council should not suffer him to be about the Prince; with whom he thought he had too much Credit, and would use it ill; and he had never seen the Prince from the time he left *Oxford* till now. He was a bold Man, and spoke all things confidently, and had not that reverence for the late King which he ought to have had; and less for the Queen; though he had great obligations to both; yet being not so great as he had a mind to, he looked upon them as none

none at all. This Gentleman came to the King just as he left the *Hague*, and both as he was a new Comer, and as one for whom his Majesty had formerly much kindness, was very well receiv'd; and being one who would receive no injury from his modesty, made the favour the King shew'd him as bright, and to shine as much in the Eyes of all Men, as was possible. He was never from the Person of the King, and always whispering in his Ear, taking upon him to understand the sense and opinion of all the Loyal Party in *England*: And when he had a mind that the King should think well, or ill of any Man, he told him, "that he was much belov'd by, or "very odious to all his Party there. By these infusions, he had prevail'd with him to look with less grace upon the Earl of *Brisfol*, who came from *Caen* (where he had hitherto resided) to kiss his hands, than his own good Nature would have inclined him to; and more to discountenance the Lord *Digby*, and to tell him plainly, "that he should not serve "him in the place of Secretary of State; in which he had serv'd his Father, and from which Men have seldom been remov'd upon the Descent of the Crown; and not to admit either Father or Son to be of his Council; which was more extraordinary. He told the King, "it would be the most unpopular thing he could do, and which would lose him more "Hearts in *England* than any other thing, if he were thought "to be govern'd by his Mother. And in a Month's time that he had been about the King, he begun already to be looked upon as very like to become the Favorite. He had us'd the Queen with wonderful neglect when she spoke to him, and had got so much Interest with the King, that he had procur'd a promise from his Majesty to make Colonel *Windham*, whose Daughter Mr *Elliot* had Married, Secretary of State; an honest Gentleman, but extreme unequal to that Province; towards which he could not pretend a better qualification, than that his Wife had been Nurse to the Prince, who was now King.

IN these kind of humours and indispositions the Embassadors found the Court, when they came to *St Germain's*. They had, during their stay at *Paris*, in their way to Court, conferr'd with the Earl of *Brisfol*, and his Son the Lord *Digby*; who breath'd out their Grievs to them; and the Lord *Digby* was the more troubled to find that Mr *Elliot*, who was a known and declared Enemy of his, had gotten so much Credit with the King, as to be able to satisfy his own malice upon him, by the countenance of his Majesty; in whom, he knew, the King his Father desired, that he should of all Men have the least Interest. After they had been a day or two there, the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinking it his Duty to lay

omewhat to the Queen in particular, and knowing that she expected he should do so, and the King having told him at large all that had passed with his Mother, and the ill humour he was in (all which his Majesty related in a more exalted Dialect than he had been accusom'd to) and his Majesty being very willing to understand what the Queen thought upon the whole, the Chancellor asked a private Audience; which her Majesty readily granted. And after she had gently expostulated upon the old passages at *Ferisy*, she concluded with the mention of the great confidence the King her Husband had always reposed in him, and thereupon renew'd her own gracious professions of good will towards him. Then she complain'd, not without tears, of the King's unkindness towards her, and of his way of living with her, of some expressions he had used in discourse in her own presence, and of what he had said in other places, and of the great credit Mr *Elliot* had with him, and of his rude behaviour towards her Majesty, and lastly of the incredible design of making *Windham* Secretary; "who, besides his other unfitness, she said, "would be sure "to joyn with the other to lessen the King's kindness to her "all they could. The Chancellor, after he had made all the professions of duty to her Majesty which became him, and said what he really believ'd of the King's kindness and respect for her, asked her, "whether she would give him leave to take "notice of any thing she had said to him, or, in general, that "he found her Majesty unsatisfied with the King's unkindness? The Queen replied, "that she was well contented he "should take notice of every thing she had said; and, above "all of his purpose to make *Windham* Secretary: of which the King had not made the least mention, though he had taken notice to him of most other things the Queen had said to him.

*A private
Audience of
the Chancellor
with the
Queen.*

THE Chancellor, shortly after, found an opportunity to inform the King of all that had passed from the Queen, in such a method as might give him occasion to enlarge upon all the particulars. The King heard him very greedily, and protested, "that he desir'd nothing more than to live very "well with the Queen; towards whom he would never fail "in his Duty, as far as was consistent with his Honour, and "the good of his Affairs; which, at present, it may be, required more reservation towards the Queen, and to have it "believ'd that he Communicated less with Her than he did, "or than he intended to do: that, if he did not seem to be "desirous of her Company, it was only when she griev'd him "by some Importunities, in which he could not satisfy her; "and that her exception against *Elliot* was very unjust; and "that

“that he knew well the Man to be very honest, and that
 “lov’d him well ; and that the prejudice the King his Father
 “had against him, was only by the malice of the Lord *Dygh*,
 “who hated him without a cause, and had likewise inform’d
 “the Queen of some fallshoods, which had incens’d her Ma-
 “jesty against him ; and seem’d throughout much concern’d
 to justify *Elliot*, against whom the Chancellor himself had no
 exceptions, but receiv’d more respects from him than he paid
 to most other Men.

WHEN the Chancellor spoke of making *Windham* Secre-
 tary, the King did not own the having promised to do it,
 but “that he intended to do it: the Chancellor said, “he was
 “glad he had not promised it ; and that he hoped, he would
 “never do it: that he was an honest Gentleman, but in no
 “degree qualified for that Office. He put him in mind of
 Secretary *Nicholas*, who was then there to present his Duty
 to him ; “that he was a Person of such known affection and
 “honesty, that he could not do a more ungracious thing than
 “to pass Him by. The King said, “he thought Secretary
 “*Nicholas* to be a very honest Man ; but he had no title to
 “that Office more than another Man : that Mr *Windham* had
 “not any experience in that Employment, but that it de-
 “pended so much upon forms, that he would quickly be in-
 “structed in it: that he was a very honest Man, for whom
 “he had never done any thing, and had now nothing else to
 “give him but this place ; for which he doubted not but, in
 “a short time, he would make himself very fit. All that the
 Chancellor could prevail with his Majesty, was to suspend
 the doing it for some time, and that he would hear him again
 upon the Subject, before he took a final Resolution. For the
 rest, he promised “to speak upon some particulars with the
 “Queen, and to live with her with all kindness and free-
 “dom, that she might be in good humour. But he heard
 Her, and all others, very unwillingly, who spoke against Mr
Windham’s Parts for being Secretary of State.

ONE day the Lord *Cottingham*, when the Chancellor and
 some others were present, told the King very gravely (ac-
 cording to his custom, who never smiled when he made
 others merry) “that he had an humble Suit to him, on the
 “behalf of an old Servant of his Father’s, and whom, he af-
 “fured him upon his knowledge, his Father lov’d as well as
 “he did any Man of that condition in *England* ; and that he
 “had been for many years one of his Falconers ; and he did
 “really believe him to be one of the best Falconers in *Eng-
 land* ; and thereupon enlarged himself (as he could do very
 well, in all the terms of that Science) to shew how very
 skil-

kilful he was in that Art. The King asked him, "what he
 ' would have him do for him? *Corryington* told him, "it was
 ' very true that his Majesty kept no Falconers, and the poor
 ' Man was grown old, and could not Ride as he had used
 ' to do; but that he was a very honest Man, and could Read
 ' very well, and had as audible a voice as any Man need to
 ' have; and therefore besought his Majesty, "that he would
 ' make him his Chaplain; which speaking with so composed
 ' Countenance, and somewhat of earnestness, the King look-
 ' ed upon him with a smile to know what he meant; when
 ' He, with the same gravity, assured him, "the Falconer was
 ' in all respects as fit to be his Chaplain, as Colonel *Wadham*
 ' was to be Secretary of State; which so surprised the King,
 ' who had never spoken to him of the matter, all that were pre-
 ' sent being not able to abstain from laughing, that his Majesty
 ' was somewhat out of Countenance: and this being merrily
 ' told by some of the Standers by, it grew to be a story in all
 ' Companies, and did really divert the King from the purpose,
 ' and made the other so much ashamed of pretending to it, that
 ' there was no more discourse of it.

WHILEST all Endeavours were used to compose all ill hu-
 nours here, that the King might prosecute his intended
 Voyage for *Ireland*, there came very ill news from *Ireland*. *An account*
 As soon as the Marquis of *Ormond* was arriv'd, as hath been *of the affairs*
 said before, the Confederate Catholicks, who held their As- *in Ireland*
 sembly, as they had always done, at *Kilkenny*, sent Commis- *after the*
 sioners to him to Congratulate his Arrival, and to enter upon *Marquis of*
 a Treaty of Peace, that they might all return to their Obedi- *Ormond's*
 ence to the King. But the inconstancy of that Nation was *arrival*
 such, that, notwithstanding their experience of the ruin they *there.*
 had brought upon themselves by their falling from their
 former Peace, and notwithstanding that themselves had sent
 to *Paris* to importune the Queen and the Prince to send the
 Marquis of *Ormond* back to them, with all promises and pro-
 testations that they would not insist upon any unreasonable
 Concessions; now he was come upon their invitation to them,
 they made new demands in point of Religion, and insisted
 upon other things, which if he should consent to, would have
 irreconciled all the *English*, who were under the Lord *Inchiquin*,
 upon whom his principal confidence was placed: By
 this means so much time was spent, that the Winter passed
 without any agreement; whereby they might have advanc'd
 against the Parliament Forces, which were then weak, and
 in want of all manner of Supplies, whilst the distractions con-
 tinu'd in *England* between the Parliament and the Army, the
 divisions in the Army, and the prosecution of the King;
 : during

during which the Governours there had work enough to look to themselves; and left *Ireland* to provide for it self: and if that unfortunate People would have made use of the advantages that were offer'd, that Kingdom might indeed have been entirely Reduced to the King's Obedience.

THAT the Lord Lieutenant might even compel them to preserve themselves, he went himself to *Kilkenny*, where the Council sat, about *Christmas*, after three months had been spent from his arrival, that no more time might be lost in their Commissioners coming and going, and that the Spring might not be lost as well as the Winter. And at last a Peace was made and concluded; by which, against such a day, the Confederate Catholicks oblig'd themselves, "to bring into the Field, a body of Horse and Foot, with all provisions for the Field, which should be at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant, and to march as he should appoint. The Treaty had been drawn out into the more length, in hope to have brought the whole Nation to the same agreement. And the General Assembly, to which they all pretended to submit, and from which all had receiv'd their Commissions, as hath been said, sent to *Owen O Neile*, who remain'd in *Ulster* with his Army, and came not himself to *Kilkenny*, as he had promis'd to have done, upon pretence of his Indisposition of health. He profess'd "to submit to whatsoever the General Assembly should determine: but when they sent the Articles, to which they had agreed, to be sign'd by him, he took several exceptions, especially in matters of Religion; which he thought was not enough provided for; and, in the end, positively declar'd "that he would not submit, or be bound by them: and at the same time he sent to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "that he "would treat with him apart, and not concern himself in what "the Assembly resolv'd upon.

THE truth is, there was nothing of Religion in this contention; which proceeded from the Animosity between the two Generals, *O Neile* and *Preston*, and the bitter Faction between the old *Irish* and the other, who were as much hated by the old, as the *English* were; and lastly, from the Ambition of *Owen O Neile*; who expected some Concessions to be made to him in his own particular, which would very much have offended and incensed the other Party, if they had been granted to him: so that the Assembly was well pleas'd to leave him out, and concluded the Peace without him.

HEREUPON the Lord Lieutenant us'd all possible endeavours that the Army might be form'd, and ready to march in the beginning of the Spring. And though there

was not an appearance answerable to their promise, yet their Troops seem'd so good, and were so numerous, that he thought fit to march towards *Dublin*; and, in the way, to take all Castles and Garrisons, which were possess'd by the Parliament: in which they had very good Success. Formerly of the Parliament Soldiers having serv'd the King; they took the first opportunity, upon the Marquis of *Ormond's* approach within any distance, to come to him; and by that means several places Surrender'd likewise to him. Colonel *Monk*, who had formerly serv'd the King, and remain'd, for the space of three or four years, Prisoner in the Tower, had been at last prevail'd with by the Lord *Lisle* to serve the Parliament against the *Irish*; pleasing himself with an opinion that he did not therein serve against the King. He was at this time Governour of *Dundalk*, a Garrison about thirty miles from *Dublin*; which was no sooner summon'd (*Trelogb*, and those at a nearer distance, being taken) but he was compell'd by his own Soldiers to deliver it up; and if he Officer who Commanded the Party which Summon'd him, had not been his Friend, and thereby hoped to have educated him to the King's Service, his Soldiers would have broken him over the Walls, and made their own conditions afterwards; and most of that Garrison betook themselves to the King's Service.

UPON all these Encouragements, before the Troops were come up to make the Army as numerous as it might have been, the Marquis was perswaded to block up *Dublin* at a very little distance; having good reason to hope, from the smallness of the Garrison, and a Party of well affected People within the Town, that it would in a short time have been given up to him. In the mean time, he used all the means he could to hasten the *Irish* Troops, some whereof were upon their march, and others not yet raised, to come up to the Army. By all their Letters from *London* (with which, by the way of *Dublin*, and the Ports of *Munster*, there was good intelligence) they understood, that there were fifteen hundred, or two thousand Men shipp'd for *Ireland*: and the wind having been for some time against their coming for *Dublin*; there was an apprehension that they might be gone for *Munster*: whereupon the Lord *Inchiquin*, who was not confident of all his Garrisons there, very unhappily departed with some Troops of Horse to look after his Province; there being then no cause to apprehend any sally out of *Dublin*, where they were not in a condition to look out of their own Walls. But he was not gone above two days, when the Wind coming fair, the Ships expected came into the Port of *Dublin*; and land.

The Marquis of Ormond block up Dublin.

The Lord Inchiquin departs from him for Munster.

Recruits land as Dublin from England.

Jones sallies
out of Dub-
lin, and
beats the
Marquis of
Ormond's
Army.

and landed a greater number of Soldiers, especially of Horse, than was reported; and brought the News that *Cromwell* himself was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and intended to be shortly there with a very great supply of Horse and Foot. This Fleet that was already come, had brought Armes, and Cloaths, and Money, and Victuals; which much exalted the Garrison and the City; which presently turn'd out of the Town some of those who were suspected to wish well to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and imprison'd others. The second day after the arrival of the Succours, *Jones*, who had been a Lawyer, and was then Governour of *Dublin*, at Noon-day, march'd out of the City, with a Body of three thousand Foot, and three or four Troops of Horse, and fell upon that Quarter which was next the Town; where they found so little resistance that they adventur'd upon the next; and in short so disorder'd the whole Army, one half whereof was on the other side the River, that the Lord Lieutenant, after he had, in the head of some Officers whom he drew together, Charg'd the Enemy with the loss of many of those who follow'd him, was at last compell'd to draw off the whole Army, which was so discomfited, that he did not think fit to return them again to their Posts, till both the Troops which he had were refresh'd, and compos'd, and their Numbers increased by the Levies which ought to have been made before, and which were now in a good forwardness.

Cromwell
made Lord
Lieutenant
of *Ireland*.

It may be remember'd, that the general Insurrections in the last year, the revolt of the Navy, and the Invasion of the *Scots*, encouraged and drawn in by the Presbyterian Party, had so disturb'd and obstructed the Counsels both in the Parliament, and in the Army, that nothing had been done in all that year towards the relief of *Ireland*, except the sending over the Lord *Lisle* as Lieutenant, with a Commission that was determin'd at the end of so many Months, and which had given so little relief to the *English*, that it only discover'd more their weakness, and animosity towards each other, than obstructed the *Irish* in making their progress in all the parts of the Kingdom; and the more confirm'd the Lord *Inchiquin* to pursue his Resolutions of serving the King, and of receiving the Marquis of *Ormond*, how meanly soever attended, and to unite with the *Irish*; the perfecting of which conjunction, with so general a success, brought so great reproach upon the Parliament, with reference to the loss of *Ireland*, that the noise thereof was very great: So that *Cromwell* thought it high time, in his own Person, to appear upon a Stage of so great Action. There had been always Men enough to be spar'd out of the Army to have been sent upon that Expedition, when

the other difficulties were at highest; but the conducting it was of that importance, that it was, upon the matter, to determine which power should be superior, the Presbyterian or the Independent. And therefore the one had set up and sign'd *Waller* for that command, and *Cromwell*, against Him and that Party, had insisted, that it should be given to *Lambert*, the second Man of the Army, who was known to have a great detestation of the Presbyterian power, as he had of the Prerogative of the Crown: and the Contests between the two Factions, which of these should be sent, had spent a great part of the last year, and of their Winter Counsels. But now, when all the Domestick differences were compos'd by their successes in the field, and the bloody prosecution of their civil Counsels, so that there could be little done to the disturbance of the Peace of *England*, and when *Waller's* friends were so suppress'd, that he was no more thought of, *Cromwell* began to think that the committing the whole Government of *Ireland*, with such an Army as was necessary to be sent thither, was too great a Trust even for his beloved *Lambert* himself, and was to lessen his own power and authority, both in the Army which was commanded by *Fairfax*, and in the other, that, being in *Ireland*, would, upon any occasion, have great influence upon the Affairs of *England*. And therefore, whilst there appear'd no other obstructions in the relief of *Ireland* (which was every day loudly call'd for) than the determining who should take that Charge, some of his Friends, who were always ready upon such occasions, on sudden propos'd *Cromwell* Himself the Lieutenant General, to conduct that Expedition.

Cromwell himself was always absent when such Overtures were to be made; and whoever had propos'd *Lambert*, had propos'd it as a thing most agreeable to *Cromwell's* desire; and therefore, when they heard *Cromwell* Himself propos'd for the service, and by those who they were sure intended him no affront, they immediately acquiesced in the Proposition, and look'd upon the change as a good expedient: on the other side, the Presbyterian party was no less affected, and concluded that this was only a trick to defer the service, and that he never did intend to go thither in Person; or that if he did, his absence from *England* would give them all the advantages they could wish, and that they should then recover entirely their General *Fairfax* to their Party; who was already much broken in Spirit upon the concurrence he had been drawn to, and declar'd some bitterness against the Persons who had led him to it. And so in a moment both Parties were agreed, and *Oliver Cromwell* elected and declar'd to be Lord Lieute-

nant of *Ireland*, with as ample, and independent a Commission, as could be prepar'd.

CROMWELL, how little surpris'd soever with this designation, appear'd the next day in the House full of confusion and irresolution; which the natural temper, and composure of his understanding could hardly avoid, when he least desir'd it; and therefore, when it was now to his purpose, he could act it to the life. And after much hesitation, and many expressions of "his own unworthiness, and disability to support so great a Charge, and of the entire resignation of himself to Their commands, and absolute dependence upon God's providence and blessing, from whom he had receiv'd many Instances of his Favour, he submitted to their good will and pleasure; and desir'd them "that no more time might be lost in the preparations which were to be made for so great a Work; for he did confess that Kingdom to be reduced to so great streights, that he was willing to engage his own Person in this expedition, for the difficulties which appear'd in it; and more out of hope, with the hazard of his life, to give some obstruction to the successes which the Rebels were at present exalted with (for so he call'd the Marquis of *Ormond*, and all who join'd with him) "that so the Commonwealth might retain still some footing in that Kingdom, till they might be able to send fresh Supplies, than out of any expectation, that, with the strength he carried, he should be able, in any signal degree, to prevail over them.

He provides
forces for his
going thither.

IT was an incredible expedition that he us'd from this minute after his assuming that Charge, in the raising of Money, providing of Shipping, and drawing of Forces together, for this enterprise: Before he could be ready himself to march, he sent three thousand Foot and Horse to *Milford Haven*, to be Transported, as soon as they arriv'd there, to *Dublin*; all things being ready there for their Transportation; which Troops, by the contrary Winds, were constrain'd to remain there for many days. And that caus'd the report in *Ireland*, by the intelligence from *London*, that *Cromwell* intended to make a descent in *Munster*; which unhappily divided the Lord *Inchiquin*, and a good Body of his Men from the Lord Lieutenant, as hath been said, when he march'd towards *Dublin*. Nor did the Marquis of *Ormond* in truth at that time intend to have march'd thither with that expedition, until his Army should be grown more numerous, and more accusom'd to discipline, but the wonderful successes of those Troops, which were sent before, in the taking of *Trim*, *Dundalk*, and all the out Garrisons, and the invitation and intelligence he had from within *Dublin*, made him unwilling to lose any more time,

time, since he was sure that the crossness of the Wind only hinder'd the arrival of those Supplies, which were design'd thither out of *England*: and the arrival of those Supplies, the very day before his coming before *Dublin*, enabled the Governour thereof to make that Sally which is mention'd before; and had that Success which is mention'd.

THE Marquis of *Ormond*, at that time, drew off his whole Army from *Dublin* to *Tredagh*, where he meant to remain till he could put it into such a posture, that he might prosecute his farther design. And a full account of all these particulars met *Cromwell* at his arrival at *Milford Haven*, when he rather expected to hear of the loss of *Dublin*, and was in great perplexity to resolve what he was then to do. But all those clouds being dispersed, upon the news of the great success his Party had that he had sent before, he deferred not to Embark his whole Army, and, with a very prosperous Wind, arriv'd at *Dublin* within two or three days after the Marquis of *Ormond* had retired from thence; where he was receiv'd, with wonderful Acclamation; which did not retard him from pursuing his active resolutions, to improve those advantages had already befallen him. And the Marquis of *Ormond* was no sooner advertised of his arrival, than he concluded to change his former resolution, and to draw his Army to a greater distance, till those Parties which were marching towards him from the several Quarters of the Kingdom, might come up to him; and in the mean while to put *Tredagh* into so good a posture, as might entertain the Enemy, till he might be able to relieve them. And so he put into that place, which was looked upon, besides the strength of the Situation, to be in a good degree fortified, the flower of his Army, both of Soldiers and Officers, most of them *English*, to the number of three thousand Foot, and two or three good Troops of Horse, provided with all things; and committed the charge and command thereof to *St Arthur Aston*, who had been often mention'd before, and was an Officer of great name and experience, and who at that time made little doubt of defending it against all the power of *Cromwell*, for at least a Month's time. And the Marquis of *Ormond* made less doubt, in much less time, to relieve and succour it with his Army; and so retired to those parts where he had appointed a Rendezvous for his new Levies.

THIS News coming to *St Germain's*, broke all their Measures, at least as to the Expedition: the resolution continued for *Ireland*; but it was thought fit that they should expect another account from thence, before the King began his Journey; nor did it seem counsellable that his Majesty should

venture at Sea whilst the Parliament Fleet commanded the Ocean, and were then about the Coast of *Ireland*; but that he should expect the Autumn, when the Season of the year would call home, or disperse the Ships. But where to stay so long was the Question; for it was now the Month of *August*, and as the King had receiv'd no kind of civility from *France*, since his last coming, so it was notorious enough that his absence was impatiently desired by that Court; and the Queen, who found her self disappointed of that Dominion which she had expected, resolv'd to merit from the Cardinal by freeing him from a Guest that was so unwelcome to them; and though he had not been in any degree chargeable to them; and so was not at all solicitous for his longer stay. So his Majesty consider'd how he should make his departure; and, upon looking round, he resolv'd, that he would make his Journey through *Normandy*, and Embark himself for his Island of *Jersey*; which still continued under his obedience, and under the Government of *Sr George Carteret*; who had in truth the power over the place, though he was but the Lieutenant of the Lord *Jermyn*; who, in those streights the King was in, and the great plenty he himself enjoyed, was wonderfully jealous that the King's being there would lessen some of the profit, which he challenged from thence; and therefore, when it was found, in order to the King's Support, whilst he should stay there, necessary to sell some of the King's Demesnes in that Island, the yearly rent whereof used to be receiv'd by that Lord towards the discharge of the Garrisons there, he insisted, with all possible importunity, "that some of the Money, "which should be rais'd upon that Sale, should be paid to "Him, because his receipt, for the time to come, would not "remain so great as it had been formerly: and though this demand appear'd so unjust, and unreasonable, that the Council could not admit it, yet he did prevail with the King in private, to give him such a Note under his hand, as enabled him to receive a good Sum of Money, after the return of his Majesty into *England*, upon that consideration. This Resolution being taken for *Jersey*, the King sent to the Prince of *Orange*, "that he would cause two Ships of War to ride in "the rode before *St Maloes* (which they might do without notice) "and that he might have a Warrant remain in his "hands, by which the Ships might attend his Majesty, when "he should require them; which they might do in very few hours; and in these he meant to Transport himself, as soon as it should be seasonable, into *Ireland*. These Ships did wait his pleasure there accordingly.

FRANCE had too good an excuse at this time for not giving

giving the King any assistance in Money, which he might expect, and did abundantly want, by the ill condition their own Affairs were in. Though the Sedition which had been raised in *Paris* the last Winter, was at present so much appeased by the Courage, and Conduct of the Prince of *Condé* (who brought the Army, which he commanded in *Flanders*, with so great Expedition before *Paris*, that the City yielded to reason) so that his most Christian Majesty, the Queen his Mother, and the whole Court, were at this present there; yet the wound was far from being closed up. The Town continu'd still in ill humour; more of the great Men adher'd to them than had done before; the Animosities against the Cardinal increased, and, which made those Animosities the more terrible, the Prince of *Condé*, who surely had merited very much, either unsatisfied, or not to be satisfied, broke his Friendship with the Cardinal, and spoke with much bitterness against him: So that the Court was far from being in that Tranquillity, as to concern it self much for the King our Master, if it had been otherwise well inclined to it.

ALL things standing thus, about the middle of *September*, The King the King left *St. Germain's*, and begun his Journey towards *Jersey*; and the Queen, the next day, remov'd from thence to *Paris* to the *Louvre*. The two Embassadours for *Spain* waited upon her Majesty thither, having nothing now to do but to prepare themselves for their Journey to *Spain*, where they longed to be, and whither they had sent for a Pass to meet them at *St. Sebastian's*, and that they might have a House provided for them at *Madrid*, against the time they should come thither: both which they recommended to an *English* Gentleman, who liv'd there, to sollicite, and advertise them in their Journey of the temper of that Court.

THEY thought it convenient, since they were to desire a Pass to go from *Paris* into *Spain*, that they should wait upon the Queen Mother of *France*, and the Cardinal; and likewise upon the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Condé*; who were then in a Cabal against the Court. The Prince of *Condé* spoke so publickly, and so warmly against the Cardinal, that most People thought the Cardinal undone; and he himself apprehended some attempt upon his Person; and therefore had not in many days gone out of his House, and admitted few to come to him, and had a strong Guard in every Room; so that his fear was not dissembled.

IN this so general disorder, the Embassadours declined any formal Audiences; for which their Equipage was not suitable: so the Lord *Cottingham* went privately to the Queen Regent, who receiv'd him graciously, and desired him "to

Y 3

"recom-

The Affairs of France whilst the King was at Paris.

"recommend her very kindly to her Brother the King of *Spain*, without enlarging upon any thing else. From Her he went to the Duke of *Orleans*, whom he found in more disorder; and when the Embassadour told him, "he came to know whether he had any Service to command him into *Spain*, the Duke, who scarce stood still whilst he was speaking, answer'd aloud, "that he had nothing to do with *Spain*; and so went hastily into another Room; and the Lord *Cottington* then withdrew. They intended both to have gone together to the Prince of *Condé*, and to the Cardinal. But when they sent to the Prince, he wisely, but with great Civility, sent them word, "that they could not be ignorant of "the disorder that Court was in, and of the jealousies which "were of him; and therefore desired them "to excuse him, "that he did not see them.

THE Cardinal appointed them a time; and accordingly they met, and conferr'd together about half an hour, the Lord *Cottington* speaking *Spanish*, and the Cardinal and He conferring wholly in that Language. The Cardinal acknowledg'd the apprehension he was in, in his looks; and took occasion in his discourse to mention "the unjust displeasure, "which Monsieur *le Prince* had conceiv'd against him. He seem'd earnestly to desire a Peace between the two Crowns; and said, "that he would give a pound of his Blood to obtain it; and desir'd the Embassadours "to tell *Don Lewis de Haro* from him, that he would with all his heart meet him upon the Frontiers; and that he was confident, if "they two were together but three hours, they should compose all differences: which Message he afterwards disavow'd, when *Don Lewis* accepted the motion, and was willing to have met him. When they took their leave of him, he brought them to the top of the Stairs in disorder enough, his Guards being very circumspect, and suffering no stranger to approach any of the Rooms.

The Lord
Cottington
and the
Chancellor
begin their
journey for
Spain, and
arrive at
Bordeaux.

THEY begun their Journey from *Paris* upon *Michaelmas* day, and continu'd it, without resting one day, till they came to *Bordeaux*; which was then in Rebellion against the King. The City and the Parliament had not only sent several complaints, and bitter investives against the Duke of *Espernon*, their Governour, for his Acts of Tyranny in his Government, but had presum'd, in order to make his Person the more ungracious, to asperse his life and manners with thick reproaches which they believ'd would most reflect upon the Court. And the truth is, their greatest Quarrel against him was, that he was a fast Friend to the Cardinal, and would not be divided from his Interest. They had driven the Duke

ut of the Town, and did not only desire the King "that he might no more be their Governour; but that his Majesty would give the Government to the Prince of *Condé*; which made their complaints the less consider'd as just. And it was then one of the most avow'd exceptions that Prince had against the Cardinal, that he had not that Government upon the Petition of *Bordeaux*, since he offer'd to assign his of *Burgundy*, which was held to be of as much value, to accommodate and repair the Duke of *Espenon*. At *Blay*, the Embassadors were visited by the Marshal of *Plissy Prasson*, who had been sent by the Court to treat with the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, but could bring them to no reason, they positively insisting upon the remove of their old Governour, and conferring the Command upon the Prince. When they came to *Bordeaux* they found the *Château Trompette*, which still held for the King, shooting at the Town, the Town having invested it very close, that no Succour could be put into them, the Duke of *Espenon* being at his House at *Cadillac*, from whence his Horse every day infested the Citizens when they stirr'd out of the Town. Here the Embassadors were compell'd to stay one whole day, the disorders upon the River, and in the Town, not suffering their Coaches and Baggage to follow them so soon as they should have done. They were here visited by some Counsellors, and Presidents of the Parliament; who professed duty to their King, but irreconcilable hatred to the Duke of *Espenon*; against whom they had published several Remonstrances in Print, and dedicated them to the Prince of *Condé*. After a days rest there, which was not unwelcome to them, they continu'd their Journey to *Bayonne*; and arriv'd, upon the twentieth day from their leaving *Paris*, at the *Taia*; where they took Boat, and in an hour or two arriv'd at *Girona*. The next day they went by the River to *Passage*, and when they came out of their Boats, which were row'd by Women, according to their Privilege there, they found Mules, sent from *St Sebastian's* to carry them thither. About half a Mile from the Town they were met by the Governour of *Guispiscoa*, *Don Antonio de Cardinas*, an old Soldier, and a Knight of the Order, the *Corregidor* and all the Magistrates of *St Sebastian's*, and the *English* Merchants which Inhabited there; and were Conducted by the Governour to one of the best Houses in the Town, which was provided for their reception; where they no sooner were, than the Governour, and the rest of the Magistrates, took their leave of them.

THEY had not been half an hour in their Lodging, conferring with the *English* Merchants, about conveniences to prosecute

"the their Journey, when the *Corregidor* came to them,
 "ed to ipeak with them in private, and, after some
 "one and apology, he shew'd them a Letter, which
 "reiv'd from the Secretary of State; the contents
 "were, "that when the Embassadours of the Prince
 "of *Wales* should arrive there, they should be receiv'd with
 "all respect; but that he should find some means to perswade
 "them to stay and remain there, till he should give the
 "King notice of it, and receive his farther pleasure. And
 "at the same time an *English* Merchant of the Town, who had
 "told them before, that he had Letters from *Madrid* for them,
 "and had gone home to fetch them, brought them a Pacquet
 "from *Sr Benjamin Wright*; who was intrusted by them to
 "solicite at *Madrid* for their Pass, and for a House to be pre-
 "pared for them. In this Letter their Pass was inclosed, un-
 "der the same Style, as Embassadours from the Prince of *Wales*;
 "which he had observ'd upon the place, and desir'd to have
 "it mended, but could procure no alteration, nor could he ob-
 "tain any Order for the providing a House for them; but was
 "told, "that it should be done time enough. This was an un-
 "expected mortification to them; but they seem'd not to be
 "troubled at it, as if they had intended to stay there a Month,
 "to refresh themselves after their long Journey, and in expec-
 "tation of other Letters from the King their Master. The
 "*Corregidor* offer'd to send away an Express the same Night,
 "which they accepted of; and writ to *Don Lewis de Haro*,
 "that the King their Master had sent them his Embassadours
 "to his Catholick Majesty, upon Affairs of the highest Im-
 "portance: that they were come so far on their way, but
 "had, to their great wonder, met there with a signification
 "of that King's pleasure, that they should stay and remain
 "there, till they should receive his Majesty's farther Orders;
 "which troubled them not so much, as to find themselves
 "styled the Embassadours of the Prince of *Wales*, which they
 "thought very strange, after his Catholick Majesty had sent
 "an Embassadour to the King their Master before they left
 "him: they desired therefore to know, whether their Per-
 "sons were unacceptable to his Catholick Majesty, and if
 "that were the Case, they would immediately return to their
 "Master; otherwise, if his Majesty were content to receive
 "them, they desir'd they might be treated in that manner as
 "was due to the Honour and Dignity of the King their Ma-
 "ster. And they writ to *Sr Benjamin Wright*, to attend
 "*Don Lewis*, and if he found that they were expected at
 "*Madrid*, and that they reform'd the Errors they had com-
 "mitted, he should then use those importunities, which were
 "necessary

“necessary for the providing a House for them against they should come.

THOUGH the Court was then full of business, being in daily expectation of their new Queen; who was landed, and it that time within few days Journey of *Madrid*; yet the very next day after the Letter was deliver'd to *Don Lewis de Haro*, he return'd an Answer full of civility, and imputed the error that was committed, to the negligence, or ignorance of the Secretary; and sent them new Passes in the proper Style; and assured them, “that they should find a very good welcome from his Majesty. And *St Benjamin Wright* sent them word, “that he had receiv'd the Warrant for the providing the House; and the officer, to whom it was directed, had called upon him to view two or three Houses; and that *Don Lewis* told him, that as soon as he had found a House that pleased him, Orders should be given to the King's Officers of the Wardrobe to furnish it; and then when the Embassadors came, there should be one of the King's Coaches to attend them whilst they staid. Hereupon they made hast in their Journey, with some satisfaction and confidence that they should find a Court not so hard to treat with, that could begin to receive them with so barefaced and form'd an Affront, and then so easily recede from it with weak Apologies. And it was plain enough, that they heartily wish'd that they had not come; and imagin'd that this might put them to return again, and then were ashamed of their own Expedient, and being pressed, chose rather to decline than avow it: So unnatural a thing it is for that Court to stoop to any ugly Action, without doing it so ungraciously, as to confess it in their own Countenance, and quickly receding from it.

It was about the middle of *November* when they left *St Sebastian's*, the Weather yet continuing fair; and a Gentleman of Quality of the Country was appointed to accompany them out of the jurisdiction of *Guipuscoa*, which was to the City of *Victoria*; and from thence they enter'd into *Castile*. When they came to *Alcavendas*, within three Leagues of *Madrid*, they sent to *St Benjamin Wright* to know what House was provided for them: he came to them, and told them, all things were in the same state they were when he writ to them to *St Sebastian's*; that though *Don Lewis* gave him very good words, and seem'd much troubled and angry with the Officers that the House was not ready, and the Officers excus'd themselves upon the jollities the Town was in during the *Fiestas*, which were held every day for the Queen's arrival, that no body could attend any particu-

“lar

"lar affair, yet it was evident there was not that care taken from the Court that there ought to have been, and that *Don Alonso de Cardenas* from *England* had done the Embassadors all the ill offices possible, as if their good reception in *Spain* would incense the Parliament, and make them more propitious to *France*, which valued it self upon having driven all the Royal Family from thence.

UPON this new Mortification, they writ again from thence to *Don Lewis*, to desire "that they might not be put to stay there for want of a House, and so be exposed to contempt. Nor were they accommodated in that place in any degree. He always Answer'd their Letters with great punctuality, and with courtesy enough, as if all things should be ready by the next day. The *English* Merchants, who resided at *Madrid*, came every day to visit them, but still brought them word, that there was no appearance of any provision made to receive them; so that, after a weeks stay in that little Town, and ill accommodation, they accepted the civil offer and invitation, which *Sr Benjamin Wright* made them, of reposing themselves *incognito* in his House; which would only receive their Persons with a *Palet de Chambre* for each; and the rest of their family was quarter'd in the next adjacent Houses for the reception of Strangers; so they went privately in the Evening into *Madrid* in *Sr Benjamin Wright's* Coach, and came to his House: and if, by His generosity, they had not been thus accommodated, they must have been exposed to reproach and infamy, by the very little respect they receiv'd from the Court. This *Sr Benjamin Wright* was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Essex*; and, being a younger Brother, had been bred a Merchant in *Madrid*; where he had great business, and great reputation; and, having married a Wife of the Family of *Toledo*, was become a perfect *Spaniard*, not only in the Language, but in the generous part of their Nature and Customs.

They go into
Madrid in-
cognito;
and lodge at
first at *Sr*
Benjamin
Wright's
House.

THE Court well enough knew of their Arrival, but took no notice of it. The Lord *Cottingham* therefore sent to *Don Lewis*, to desire that he might have a private Audience of him *incognito*; which he presently consented to, and appointed, the next Morning, to meet in the King's Garden; which was at such a distance from the Court, that it was not in the view of it. There they met at the hour: *Don Lewis* was a Man of little ceremony, and used no flourishes in his discourses, which made most Men believe that he said all things from his heart; and he seem'd to speak so cordially, that the Lord *Cottingham*, who was not easy to be imposed upon, did think that they should have a House very speedily,
and

and that he had a good inclination to favour them in what they came about. He spoke, with more commotion than was natural to him, in the business of the Murder of the King; excused all the omissions towards the Embassadors; "which should be repair'd out of hand, after the few days, which yet remain'd to be spent in *Fiestas* for the Queen; during which time, he said, no Officers would obey any Orders that diverted them from the sight of the Triumphs; and wist'd that the Embassadors would see the Masquerade that Afternoon, and the *Toros* the Day following.

THE Lord *Cottingham* return'd home very well satisfied; and had not been half an hour in the House, when a Gentleman came from *Don Lewis* to invite the Embassadors to see those Exercises, which were mention'd before; and sent them word that there should be places provided for them. The Chancellor went that Afternoon to the place assign'd where he saw the Masquerade, and the running of the Course, and, afterwards, the *Toros*.

AT the running of the Course, the King and *Don Lewis* run several Courses, in all which *Don Lewis* was too good a Courtier to win any prize, though he always lost it by very little. The appearance of the People was very great, and the Ladies in all the Windows made a very rich shew, otherwise the shew it self had nothing wonderful. Here there happen'd to be some suddain sharp words between the *Admirante* of *Castile*, a haughty young Man, and the Marquis of *Licbe*, the eldest Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*; the which being taken notice of, they were both dismissed the Squadrons wherein they were, and committed to their Chambers.

AT the Entertainment of the *Toros* there was another accident, the mention whereof is not unfit to shew the discipline, and severity of that Nation in the observation of order. It was remember'd, that at the Masquerade, the *Admirante* and the Marquis of *Licbe* were sent to their Chambers: and afterwards, the matter being examin'd, they were both commanded to leave the Town, and retire each to a House of his own, that was within three or four Leagues of the Town. the Marquis of *Licbe* was known to have gone the next day, and no body doubted the same of the *Admirante*, those orders being never disputed or disobey'd. The King as he was going to the *Toros*, either himself discern'd at another Balcony, or some body else advertis'd him of it, that the Duchess, who was Wife to the *Admirante*, was there; and said, "he knew that Lady was a Woman of more Honour than to come out of her House, and be present at
" the

"the *Pleſſa*, whilst her Husband was under restraint, and in "his Majesty's displeasure; and therefore concluded that her Husband was likewise there; and thereupon sent an *Alguazil* to that Room, with command to examine carefully with his Eye, whether the *Admirante* was there; for there appear'd none but Women. The *Admirante* being a young rash Man, much in the King's favour, and a Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, thought he might undiscern'd see the Triumph of that day; and therefore caus'd himself to be dress'd in the habit of a Lady, which his age would well bear, and forced his Wife to go with him; who exceedingly resist'd his Commands, well knowing to what reproach she expos'd her own honour, though she had no fear of his being discover'd. The *Alguazil* brought the King word, that he was very sure that the *Admirante* was there, in the habit of a Woman, and sat next his Wife among many other Ladies. Whereupon the King sent the Officer to apprehend him in the habit he was in, and to carry him to the Officer's own House. And as soon as the King return'd to the Palace, there was an Order that the *Alguazil* should the next Morning carry the *Admirante* to *Valladolid*, four days Journey from *Madrid*, to a House of his own there; where he was confin'd not to go out of the limits of that City; and under this restraint remain'd for the space of full three years: So penal a thing it is amongst that People, for any Man, of how great Quality soever (there was not in *Spain* a Man of greater than the *Admirante* of *Castile*) to disobey, or elude the judgement of the King.

The King
remains se-
veral months
in Jersey.

It may be thought impertinent to the work in hand, to make a digression upon this Embassy, and to enlarge upon many circumstances which occur'd in it, of the formality and constitution of that Court, of the nature and humour of that People, which may seem foreign to the affairs of *England*. But since the King, after his leaving *Paris*, remain'd in *Jersey* for many Months, waiting such a revolution as might administer an opportunity and occasion to quit that retirement, in all which time there was no Action, or Counsel to be mention'd, and this being the first, and the only Embassy, in which his Majesty's Person was represented, until his blessed return into *England* (for though some other Persons were afterwards sent to other Princes, with Commissions to perform that function, if they found Encouragement so to do, yet none assum'd that Character, nor were treated as such in any Court in Christendom, *Spain* only excepted) it may therefore be reasonably thought not improper in this History, to give such a relation of this Negotiation,

that

that it may appear what sense so great a Court as that of *Spain* had of those Revolutions in *England*, and of the deplorable Condition to which this young innocent Prince was reduced, when it was fully pressed to them in the most efficacious terms possible; and every circumstance of their Reception, and Treatment, may serve to illustrate those particulars; and therefore we shall proceed farther in the relation of them.

BEFORE their Audience, *Don Lewis de Haro* sent them word of the Imprisonment of the Prince of *Condé*, the Prince of *Conty*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, and that Marshal *Turenne* had made his Escape into *Flanders*; the news whereof gave the *Spanish* Court much trouble; for they had promised themselves a better Harvest from that Seed, which they had carefully and industriously Sown, and that thereby the Cardinal, whom they perfectly hated, would have been totally suppressed, and all his power entirely taken from him; which, they concluded, would forthwith produce a Peace, which was not less desir'd in *France* than in *Spain*; or that those Princes, and all their Dependents, would have appear'd in Armes in that Kingdom; by which the *Spaniards* should be able to recover much of what they had lost in *Flanders*; the hopes of either of which appear'd now blasted by this unexpected revival of the Cardinal's power.

An account of the Ambassador's Audience.

UPON the day assign'd for the Audience, it being resolv'd that when they had ended with the King, they should likewise have one of the Queen, *Don Lewis de Haro* sent Horses to their Lodging, for the accommodation of the Embassadors, and their Servants: it being the fashion of that Court, that the Embassadors ride to their first Audience. And so they rode, being attended by all their own Servants, and all the *English* Merchants who liv'd in the Town, together with many *Irish* Officers who were in the Service of his Catholick Majesty, all on Horse-back; so that their Cavalcade appear'd very fair, all the Coaches of other Embassadors likewise following them. In this manner they came to the Court about ten of the Clock in the Morning, being Conducted by an Officer, who had been sent to their Lodging, and rode with them to the Court.

THROUGH several Rooms, where there was only one Officer, who attended to open and shut the doors, they came to the Room next that where his Majesty was; where, after a little stay, whilst their Conductor went in and out, they found the King standing upright, with his back against the Wall, and the Grandees at a distance, in the same posture, against the Wall. When they had made their several respects,

and

and came to the King, he lightly mov'd his Hat, and bid them cover : The Lord *Cottingham* spoke only general things, "that the confidence the King had in his Majesty's kindness, and that He believ'd his condition such, as that all the Kings of the World were concern'd to vindicate the wrong He sustain'd : That this was the first Embassy he had sent, relying more upon the Honour of his Majesty's Nature and Generosity, than upon any other Prince ; with discourses of the same nature : Then they presented their Credentials.

THE King express'd a very tender Sense of our King's condition, and acknowledged "that it concern'd all Kings to joyn together for the punishment of such an Impious Rebellion and Parricide ; and if his own Affairs would permit it, he would be the first that would undertake it ; but that they could not but know how full his Hands were ; and whilst he had so powerful an Adversary to contend with, he could hardly defend himself ; but that when there should be a Peace with *France* (which he desired) " the King, his *Sebrino* (for so he still call'd the King, his Nephew) " should find all he could expect from him ; in the mean time he would be ready to do all that was in his power towards his assistance and relief. After the formal part was over, the King asked many Questions, most with reference to his Sister, the Queen of *France* ; and discours'd very intelligently of every thing ; so that his defects proceeded only from the laziness of his mind, not from any want of understanding ; and he seem'd then, when he was about eight and forty years of Age, to have great vigour of Body, having a clear ruddy Complexion ; yet he had been accusom'd to Fevers from his Debauches with Women, by which he was much wasted.

FROM the King they were Conducted to the Queen ; who us'd very few words, and spoke so low that she could scarce be heard ; she stood, in the same manner the King did, against a Wall, and her Ladies on both sides as the *Grandees* did ; the *Infanta* at a little distance from her, to whom likewise they made a Compliment from their Master. The Queen was then about eighteen years of Age, not Tall, round Faced, and inclined to be fat. The *Infanta* was much Lower, as she ought to be by her Age, but of a very lovely Complexion, without any help of Art, which every one else in the Room, even the Queen her self, was beholding to : and she was then the fullest of Spirit and Wit of any Lady in *Spain*, which she had not improv'd afterwards, when she had more years upon her. Their Audience ended, they return'd ; and at last they had a House provided for them in the *Calle de Alcalá*, belonging to the

They have
an House as-
sign'd them.

the Marquis of *Villa Magna*, to whom the King paid four hundred pounds Sterling by the year.

THE Council of State at this time consisted of *Don Lewis de Haro*, the Duke of *Medina de los Torres*, Duke of *Monte-rey*, Marquis of *Castille Roderigo*, Marquis of *Vall-Periso*, the Conde of *Castilio*, and *Don Francisco de Melo*; there were no more residing in that Court then; the Duke of *Medina Celi* residing constantly at his Government of *St. Lucar*, the Marquis of *Leganez* being General against *Portugal*, and so remaining at *Budajoz*, and coming seldom to *Madrid*, and the Duke of *Arcos* stood confin'd to his House, since the desertion of *Naples* when it was under his Government; and the Conde de *Pignoranda* was not yet come out of *Flanders*.

DON *Lewis* was as absolute a Favourite in the Eyes of his Master, had as entire a disposal of all his Affections and Faculties, as any Favourite of that Age: Nor was any thing transacted at home, or abroad, but by his direction and determination: And yet of all the Favourites of that, or any other time, no Man ever did so little alone, or seem'd less to enjoy the delight and empire of a Favourite. In the most ordinary occurrences, which, for the difficulty, required little Deliberation, and in the nature of them required Expedition, he would give no Order without formal Consultation with the rest of the Council; which hinder'd dispatch, and made his Parts the more suspected. He was Son of the Marquis of *Carpio*, who had Married the Sister of *Osorez*, and had been put about the Person of the King, being about the same Age with his Majesty, and had so grown up in his Affection, and was not thought to have been displeased at the disgrace of his Uncle, but rather to have contributed to it, though he did not succeed in the place of Favourite in many years, nor seem'd to be concern'd in any business till after the death of the then Queen, and was rather drawn into it by the violence of the King's Affection, who had a great kindness for his Person, than by the Ambition of his own Nature, or any delight in business. His Education had not fitted him for it, and his natural Parts were not sharp, yet his Industry was great; and the more commendable, because his Nature had some repugnancy to it, and his Experience had so fitted him for it, that he never spoke impertinently, but discoursed reasonably and weightily upon all Subjects. He was of a Melancholick Complexion; which, it may be, was the reason that he did not trust himself to himself, which was his defect. He seem'd to be a very honest, and well natur'd Man, and did very rarely manifest his power in Acts of oppression, or hard-heartedness; which made him grateful

The Character of Don Lewis de Haro.

grateful to most particular Men, when he was hated enough by the generality. His Port and Grandeur was very much inferior to that of either of the *French* Cardinals; the last of which was Favourite during his Administration. Nor did he affect Wealth as They did, not leaving a Fortune behind him much improv'd by his own industry: yet it cannot be denied, that the Affairs of *Spain* declined more, in the time they were under his Government, than at any time before; and that less was done with the consumption of so much Money, than might have been expected. But it must be likewise consider'd, that he enter'd upon that Administration in a very unhappy conjuncture, after the loss of *Portugal*, and the defection in *Catalonia*, which made such a rent in that Crown, as would have required more than an ordinary States-man to have repair'd, and make it flourish as before.

Of the Con-
de of Pignoranda.

THE Embassadors had not been long at *Madrid*, when the *Conde of Pignoranda* return'd thither from his Negotiation in the Treaty of *Münster*. He had been declar'd to be of the Council of State, after he had made that Peace with *Holland*, and was admitted to it as soon as he return'd. He was *Conde* in the right of his Wife only; and before, being of a good Family, *Don Diego de Brachamonte*, and bred in the study of the Law, was looked upon as a good Man of business, and so employ'd in matters of greatest Trust. He was indeed a Man of great Parts, and understood the Affairs of the World better than most in that Court. He was Proud to the height of his Nation, and retain'd too much of the Pedantry which he had brought with him from *Salamanca*. As soon as he return'd, according to the method of that Court upon great and successful Employments, the Presidentship of *los Ordineros*, an Office of great Reputation, becoming void, it was the very next day conferr'd upon him. The Embassadors found no benefit by his Arrival, coming from *Brussels*, which was thoroughly infected by *Don Alonso*. The truth is, *Don Alonso*, who had no Affection for the King, upon the memory of some disobligations when he first came over into *England*, and liked well his Employment, and Residence there, used all the endeavours imaginable to have the King's Condition thought to be irrecoverable and desperate, and that therefore all Civilities extended towards him were cast away, and would yield no fruit, and that the Commonwealth was so established, that it could never be shaken. So that *Spain* thought only how to make a firm Friendship there, and to forget that there ever had been a King of *England*, in the confidence that there would be no more. And therefore

fore when the Embassadours, after all Ceremonies were over, ^{The Embas-} had a private Audience of the King, and desir'd, "that he ^{sadours pri-} would appoint Commissioners, with whom they might ^{ate Audi-} treat about the renewing the Alliance between the two ^{ence and} Crowns, which had been provided for by the last Treaty ^{Demand.} "to be renew'd within so many Months after the death of "either King, and with whom they might likewise confer "upon such relief in Armes, and Money, as his Catholick "Majesty would think proper to send to their Master into "Ireland (whither one of the Embassadours desired to hasten his Journey as soon as might be; and in that Memorial, which they then deliver'd to his Catholick Majesty, they had desired likewise "that he would write to Owen O Neile "to dispose him to submit to the King) they receiv'd shortly after an Answer, sent to them by Don Francisco de Molo, who ^{The An-} told them, "that the King had sent him to them, to confer ^{swer they} "with them upon the substance of their last Memorial. He ^{receiv'd.} "said, the King did not think it necessary to appoint any "Committee to renew the last Treaty of Peace; which was "still in force, and might well be observ'd between the two "Nations; and that the renewing might be deferr'd till the "times should mend; implying very little less than that when the King should be in England, it would be a fit time to renew the Alliance. He said, "he was ready to receive "any Propositions from them, wherein they might more "particularly set down their desires, if they were ready to depart; and for writing to Owen O Neile (whom he called Don Eugenio) "he had so misbehaved himself towards his "Catholick Majesty, by leaving his Service in Flanders, and "transporting himself into Ireland without his Licence, that "his Majesty could not in Honour write to him; but that "he would take such care, that he should know it would be "agreeable to his Majesty's good liking, that he betook himself to the Service of the King of Great Britain without "reserve; which he did believe would dispose him to it: which Method the Embassadours conceiv'd was proposed, because they should believe that the Spaniard had no hand in sending him into that Kingdom, or in fomenting the Rebellion there; whereas at the same time Don Diego de la Torre was with the Irish as Resident or Envoy from Spain.

THIS Answer was evidence enough to them, how little they were to expect from any avow'd Friendship of that Crown, though they still thought they might be able to obtain some little favour in private, as Armes, and Ammunition, and a small supply of Money for the King's Subsistence; that could hardly be taken notice of. And therefore the

Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was design'd by the King to attend him in *Ireland*, expected only to hear that he was arriv'd there, till when he could not present his Memorial so particularly as was demanded, nor prepare himself for his Voyage thither: and so they rested for some time, without giving the Court any farther trouble by Audiences.

Now whilst they were in this impatient Expectation to hear from the King their Master, who yet remain'd at *Jersey*, by which they might take their own resolutions, Prince *Rupert* came upon the coast of *Spain* with the Fleet under his Command; which he had brought from *Ireland*; and had sent a Letter on Shore to be sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; which the Officer upon the place, sent presently to *Don Lewis de Haro*; who, in the same moment, sent it to him with a very civil salutation. The Prince writ him word, "that he had brought away all the Fleet from *Ireland*, and that he had receiv'd an Assurance from *Portugal*, that he should be very welcome thither; upon which "he was resolv'd, after he had attended some days to meet "with any *English* Ships that might be prize, to go for *Lisbon*; and desir'd him to procure Orders from the Court, "that he might find a good reception in all the Ports of *Spain*, if his occasions brought him thither. The Embassadors sent immediately for an Audience to *Don Lewis*; who receiv'd them with open Arms, and another kind of Countenance than he had ever done before. A Fleet of the King of *England*, under the Command of a Prince of the Blood, upon the Coast of *Spain*, at a Season of the year when they expected the return of their Galeons from the Indies, made a great consternation amongst the People, and the Court receiv'd the news of it with disorder enough. All that the Embassadors asked, was granted without hesitation; and Letters were dispatched away that very Night (Copies whereof were sent to the Embassadors) by several Expresses, to all the Governours of the Ports, and other Officers, for the good reception of Prince *Rupert*, or any Ships under his Command, if they came into any of the Ports; and for the furnishing them with any Provisions they should stand in need of, with as many friendly Clausules as could have been inserted if the King had been in possession of his whole Empire: so great an influence a little appearance of Power had upon their Spirits; and the Embassadors found they liv'd in another kind of Air than they had done, and receiv'd every day Visits and Caresses from the Court, and from those in Authority.

Prince Rupert comes upon the coast of Spain.

His Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

BUT

BUT the Government of these benign Stars was very short: *The Prince*
 Within few days after, they receiv'd News, " that the Prince, *with the crews*
 " with the grofs of his Fleet, was gone into the River of *of his Fleet*
 " *Lisbon*, and that a Squadron of four or five Ships, under *you into the*
 " the Command of Captain *Allen*, being sever'd from the *River of* *Lisbon*,
 " Prince by a Storm, was driven upon the Rocks at *Carta-*
 " *gena*; where the People of the Country had treated them
 " very rudely, and seized both upon the Ships, and Persons of
 " the Men, and the Storm continuing had wrecked two or
 " three of their Vessels in the Road, though the Guns and
 " all things in the Ships were saved. When the Embassa-
 " dours demanded Justice, " and that restitution might be made
 " of all those Goods, and Ordnance, and rigging of the Ships,
 " which not only the People, but the Governours, and Of-
 " ficers themselves had seized upon, they were receiv'd with
 " much more cloudy looks than before; nor was there the
 " same Expedition in granting what they could not deny. Or-
 " ders were at last given for the setting all the Men at liberty,
 " and redelivery of the Goods, that thereby they might be en-
 " abled to mend their Vessels and Transport their Men.

BUT as these Orders were but faintly given, so they were more slowly executed; and a stronger Fleet set out by the Parliament of *England* then appear'd upon the Coast, which came into the Road of *St. Andero's*; from whence the Commander in chief writ a very insolent Letter in *English* to the King of *Spain*; wherein he requir'd, "that none of those Ships under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, which had revolted from the Parliament, and were in Rebellion against it, might be receiv'd into any of the Ports of *Spain*, and that those Ships which were in the Ports of *Cartagena*, might be deliver'd to him, and the Ordnance and tackling of the other which were wreck'd, might be carefully kept, and be deliver'd to such Person as should be authoriz'd to receive the same by the Common wealth of *England*; to whom they belong'd: and concluded, "that as the Common-wealth of *England* was willing to live in Amity, and good Intelligence with his Catholick Majesty, so they knew very well how to do themselves right for any injury, or discourtesy, which they should sustain.

THIS imperious style made such an impression upon the Court, that all the importunity the Embassadors could use, could get nothing done at *Cartagena* in pursuance of the Orders they had sent from the Court; but the poor Men were, after long attendance, forced to Transport themselves as they were able; and two or three hundred of them march'd over Land, and were compell'd to Lift themselves in the *Spanish*

*He sails into
the River of
Lisbon.
Requires
Prince Ru-
pert's Fleet
to be deli-
ver'd up.*

Service at Land; where they, for the most part, perish'd; care being in the mean time taken, that the Parliament Fleet should be receiv'd in all places, with all possible demonstration of respect and kindness; and the King sent a Ring of the value of fifteen hundred pounds to the Commander. In this Triumph he Sail'd from thence into *Portugal*, and dropped his Anchors in the River of *Lisbon*, at a very small distance from the Fleet of Prince *Rupert*; and suffer'd not any Ship to enter into that River; but denounced War against that Kingdom, if that Fleet were not presently deliver'd up into his hands.

THE *Portuguese* had receiv'd Prince *Rupert* very civilly, bought all the Prizes he had brought thither, gave him the free use of all their Ports, and furnish'd him with all things he stood in need of. The Queen, and the Prince of *Portugal* then living, who was a young Man of great hope and courage, made great professions of Friendship to our King, and of a desire to assist him by all the ways and means which could be propos'd to them. But when their River was block'd up, their Ships taken, and the whole Kingdom upon the matter besieged by the Parliament Fleet, of which they knew the *Spaniard* would quickly make use, the Council was astonish'd, and knew not what to do: their free Trade with *England* was not only their profit, but their reputation; and if they should be depriv'd of that, they should not be able to preserve it any where else; which would put the whole Kingdom into a flame; and therefore they besought their King, "that Prince *Rupert* might be desir'd to leave the River, and to carry "his Fleet from thence; which was not possible for him to do without fighting with the Enemy, to whom he was much inferior in strength of Shipping, and number of Men, by the loss he had sustain'd at *Cartagena*.

*Prince Ru-
pert escapes
out of the Ri-
ver of Lis-
bon with
his Fleet.*

THE Prince of *Portugal* had so great indignation at this overture made by the Council, that he declar'd "he would "have all the Ships in the Port made ready, and would him- "self go on Board, and joyn with Prince *Rupert*, and fight the "English, and drive them from thence: and he manifested a great desire to do so; but the Council prevail'd with the Queen not to consent to that. So in the end, after some Months stay there, and the Fleet being fully supplied with whatever it stood in need of, Prince *Rupert* found it necessary, upon the assurance the *Portuguese* gave him that the other Fleet should not follow him till after two Tides, to set Sail and leave that Kingdom; which he did with so full a Gale, that the Parliament's Commander, after so long a stay, found it to no purpose to follow him; but took full vengeance upon *Portu- gal*

gal for rescuing his Prey from him ; untill they were compell'd, after great sufferings , to purchase their peace from *Cromwell* upon very hard conditions.

It seem'd no good sign to the Embassadors that Prince *Rupert* had left *Ireland* ; where there were so many good Ports, The Affairs of Ireland as this time. and where the Fleet had been so necessary for the carrying on his Majesty's Service. But, in a short time after, they receiv'd advertisement, "that the King had laid aside his purpose of going thither, and had taken new resolutions. Before the Marquis of *Ormond* could draw his Army together, *Cromwell* had besieg'd *Tredagh* : and though the Garrison was so strong in point of number, and that number of so choice Men, that they could wish for nothing more than that the Enemy would attempt to take them by storm, the very next day after he came before the Town he gave a general Assault, and was beaten off with considerable loss. But, after a day more, he Assaulted it again in two places, with so much courage, that he enter'd in both ; and though the Governour and some of the chief Officers retir'd in disorder into a Fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a panick fear so possess'd the Soldiers, that they threw down their Armes upon a general offer of Quarter : so that the Enemy enter'd the Works without resistance, and put every Man, Governour, *Tredagh* Officer, and Soldier, to the Sword ; and the whole Army being enter'd the Town, they executed all manner of cruelty, taken by storm. and put every Man that related to the Garrison, and all the Citizens who were *Irish*, Man, Woman, and Child, to the Sword ; and there being three or four Officers of Name, and of good Families, who had found some way, by the humanity of some Soldiers of the Enemy, to conceal themselves for four or five days, being afterwards discover'd, they were butcher'd in cold blood.

THIS insupportable loss took away all hopes from the Marquis of *Ormond* of drawing an Army strong enough, and resolute enough, together, to meet *Cromwell* in the field, during the Summer, which was drawing to an end ; and obliged him to retire into those Quarters, where, in respect of the strong Passes, he might be secure, and from whence he might attempt upon the Enemy. *Cromwell* in the mean time took no rest, but having made himself terrible by that excess of rigour and cruelty, march'd into *Munster* against the Lord *Inchiquin*, Cromwell marches into Munster. and that Body of *English* which was under His Command. Here he defied Fortune again ; and march'd so far out of the places devoted to him, and from whence he had any reasonable hope to receive Supplies, that he must necessarily have been starv'd, and could not have retir'd, all the Bridges over

*His success
there.*

*The King
gave over
the thought
of going into
Ireland.*

which he had pass'd being broken down, if the City of *Cork*, which he could not have forced, had not been by the Garrison basely deliver'd up to him; those Officers who had been most oblig'd to the Lord *Inchiquin*, and in whom he had most confidence, unworthily betraying him, and every day forsaking him: so that by the Example of *Cork*, and by the terrour of *Tredagh*, the whole Province of *Munster*, in a very short time fell into *Cromwell's* hands, except some few Towns and Sea-Ports, which, being Garrison'd by the *Irish*, would, neither Officers nor Soldiers, receive or obey any Orders which were sent from the Lord of *Ormond*. The King receiving information of this at *Jersey*, gave over the thought very reasonably of adventuring himself into *Ireland*; and dismiss'd the two Ships, which, by the direction of the Prince of *Orange*, had attended so long at *St Maloe's*, to have waisted him thither.

Argyle designs to invite the King into Scotland:

Provides, that a Messenger be sent to his Majesty at Jersey upon the old Conditions,

THOUGH Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lauterdale*, and the other *Scotish* Lords, who remain'd in *Holland* when the King came into *France*, durst not return into their own Country, yet they held Intelligence with their Party there. And though the Marquis of *Argyle* had the sole power, yet he could not exstinguish the impatient desire of that whole Nation, to have their King come to them. And every day produced instances enough, which inform'd him, how the affections of the People were generally disposed, and upon how slippery ground himself stood, if he were not supported by the King; and that the Government, he was then possess'd of, could not be lasting, except he had another Force to defend him, than that of his own Nation. And he durst not receive any from *Cromwell*, who would willingly have assisted him, for fear of being entirely deserted by all his Friends, who had been still firm to him. Hereupon he thought of drawing the King into *Scotland*, and keeping the *Hamiltonian* Faction from entring with him, by the sentence that was already against them, and to oblige the King to submit to the Covenant, and all those other obligations which were at that time establish'd; and if his Majesty would put himself into his hands upon those conditions, he should be sure to keep the power in himself under the King's name, and might reasonably hope that *Cromwell*, who made no pretence to *Scotland*, might be well enough pleas'd that his Majesty might remain there under His Government, and Assurance, that he should not give *England* or *Ireland* any disturbance.

UPON this presumption, he wish'd the Council of *Scotland*, and that Committee of the Parliament in whom the Authority was vested, to send again to the King (who, they thought

thought, by this time, might be weary of *Jersey*) to invite him to come to them upon the old conditions; and by gratifying them in this particular, which all the People did so passionately desire, he renew'd all the solemn obligations they had been before bound in, never to admit the King to come amongst them, but upon his first submitting to, and performing all those conditions. All things being thus settled, and agreed, they sent a Gentleman with Letters into *Jersey*, to invite his Majesty again to come into his Kingdom of *Scotland*, not without a rude insinuation that it was the last invitation he should receive. The *Scottish* Lords, who are mention'd before to be then in *Holland*, were glad of this advance; and believ'd that if the King were there, they should easily find the way home again. And therefore they prevail'd with the Prince of *Orange*, to write very earnestly to the King, and to recommend it to the Queen; and themselves made great instance to the Queen, with whom they had much credit, "that the King would not lose this opportunity to improve his condition. No body presum'd to advise him to submit to All that was propos'd; and yet it was evident, that if he did not submit to All, he could have the benefit of none; but "that he should make such an Answer as "might engage the *Scots* in a Treaty, for the King's better "information, and satisfaction in some particulars: which "being done, he should imply a purpose to Transport his "Person thither.

THE Spring was now coming on, and though *Jersey* was a convenient place to retire to, in order to consider what was next to be done, yet it was not a place to reside in, nor would be longer safe, than whilst the Parliament had so much else to do, that it could not spare wherewithal to reduce it. The design for *Ireland* was at an end, and the despair of being welcome in any other place, compell'd the King to think better of *Scotland*, and so, according to the advice he had receiv'd, he return'd an Answer to the Message from *Scotland*, "that *The King's Answer,*
"there were many particulars contain'd in the Propositions "which he did not understand, and which it was necessary "that he
"for him to be advis'd in; and in order thereunto, and that "would
"he might be well inform'd and instructed in what so near "have a
"ly concern'd him, he resolv'd, by such a time, which was "Treaty
"set down, to find himself in *Holland*; where he desir'd to "with them
"meet such Persons as his Kingdom of *Scotland* would send "in Hol-
"to him, and to confer, and treat, and agree with those upon "land.
"all things that might give his Subjects of that Kingdom satisfaction; which his Majesty did very much desire to
"do.

THE Queen had so good an opinion of many of the *Scott* Lords, and so ill a one of many of the *English* who were about the King (in truth, she had so entire a despair of all other ways) that she was very desirous that the overtures from *Scotland* should be hearken'd to, and embraced: besides that she found her Authority was not so great with the King, as she expected, she saw no possibility of their being long together: She knew well that the Court of *France*, that grew every day into a closer correspondence with *Cromwell*, would not endure that the King should make his Residence in any part of that Kingdom, and so shorten'd the Assignations which they had made for her own support, that she was at no ease, and begun to think of dissolving her own Family, and of her own retiring into a Monastery; which from that time she practis'd by degrees: and, no doubt, that consideration which made most impression upon the King, as it had done upon his Father, and terrified him most from complying with the *Scots* demand, which was the alteration it would make in Religion, and the Government of the Church, seem'd not to Her of moment enough to reject the other conveniences; nor did she prefer the order, and decency of the Church of *England*, before the sordidness of the Kirk of *Scotland*, but thought it the best expedient to advance her own Religion, that the latter should triumph over the former. She therefore writ earnestly to the King her Son, "that he would entertain this motion from *Scotland*, as his only refuge; and "that he would invite Commissioners to meet him in *Holland*, "in such a place as the Prince of *Orange* should advise; and desir'd that, "in his passage thither, he would appoint some "place where her Majesty would meet him; that they might "spend some days together in consultation upon what might "concern them jointly. In all which his Majesty complying, the City of *Beauvais* in *Picardy* was appointed for the interview; where both their Majesties met, and conversed together three or four days; and then the Queen return'd to *Paris*, and the King pass'd through *Flanders* to *Breda*; which the Prince of *Orange* thought to be the fittest place for the Treaty, the States having no mind that the King should come any more to the *Hague*.

The Queen advises the King to agree with the Scots upon their terms.

Their Majesties meet at Beauvais. The King goes to Breda.

The Scottish Commissioners come to Breda, and the terms they bring.

THE *Scottish* Commissioners came to *Breda* with the very same Propositions which had been formerly sent, and without the least mitigation, and as positive an exception to Persons: so that if the King should incline to go thither, he must go without any one Chaplain of his own: there were Ministers sent from *Scotland* to attend, and to instruct him. His Majesty must not carry with him any one Counsellor, nor any Person

Person who had ever serv'd his Father in the War against the Parliament, without taking the Covenant. And, that no body might have cause to complain, if they did go thither, that they were worse treated than they had reason to expect, the King himself, and all who should attend upon him, were first to sign the Covenant before they should be admitted to enter into the Kingdom. Very fair warning indeed: nor could any Man justly except against any thing that was afterwards done to him.

HERE was no great Argument for consultation: no Man had so ill an understanding, as not to discern the violence that was offer'd to Honour, Justice, and Conscience; yet whoever objected against what was propos'd, upon any of those considerations, was look'd upon as a Party, because he himself could not be suffer'd to attend the King. It was thought to be of great Weight, that they who dissuaded the King from going into *Scotland*, upon those rude and barbarous terms, could not propose any thing else for him to do, nor any place where he might securely repose himself, with any hope of subsistence: a very sad State for a Prince to be reduced to, and which made it manifest enough, that the Kings of the Earth are not such a Body as is sensible of the Indignity, and Outrage, that is offer'd to any Member of it. The *Scottish Hamiltonian* Lords were thought to be the most competent Counsellors, since They, by going, were to be expos'd to great rigour, and to undergo the severest part of all Censures. They could not sit in the Parliament, nor in the Council, and knew well that they should not be suffer'd to be about the Person of the King: yet all these resolv'd to wait upon him, and perswaded him to believe, "that his Majesty's presence would dissipate those Clouds; and that a little time would produce many alterations, which could not be presently effected. For his Majesty's signing the Covenant, "he should tell the Commissioners, that he would defer it till he came thither, that he might think better of it; and that if then the Kirk should press it upon him, he would give them satisfaction. And they were confident, that after he should be there, he should be no more importuned in it, but that even the Church-men themselves would contend to make themselves gracious to him.

THIS kind of Argumentation wrought much with the Prince of *Orange*, but more with the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had waited upon the King from the time of his Adventure with the Earl of *Holland* (against whose Person there was no exception) and with *Wilmot*, and *Wentworth* (who resolv'd to go with his Majesty, and would submit to any conditions; which

The King
resolves for
Scotland.

which would be required of them) and with others about the King, who could not digest the Covenant; yet the hope that it would not be required from them, and the many promises those *Scotish* Lords made to them, who were like to grow into Authority again when they should be once in their native Air and upon their own Soil, prevailed with them to use all their Credit with the King to Embark himself, and try how propitious Fortune would be to him in *Scotland*. In the end, a faint hope in that, and a strong despair of any other expedient, prevailed so far with his Majesty, that he resolv'd, upon what terms soever, to Embark himself, in *Holland*, upon a Fleet which the Prince of *Orange* provided for him; and so with all the *Scotish*, and very few *English* Servants, to set Sail for *Scotland*.

Arguments
of some Lords
against the
King's going
to Scotland.

THERE were two very strong Arguments, which made deep impression on those Lords who very vehemently dissuaded, and ever protested against his Majesty's going for *Scotland*, and which, as it often falls out in matters of the highest importance, they could not make use of to convert others, especially in the place and company in which they were to urge them. The first, "that the Expedition of Duke *Hamilton* the year before, with an Army as numerous, and much better furnish'd, and provided, than *Scotland* could in many years be again enabled to send out, made it manifest enough, how little that Nation, how united soever, could prevail against the force of *England*: The other, "that the whole, and absolute power of *Scotland* being, at that time, confessedly vested in the Marquis of *Argyle*, it might reasonably be fear'd, and expected, that the King should no sooner arrive there, and the least appearance be discover'd of such resolutions, or alterations in the Affections of the People, upon which the *Hamiltonian* Faction wholly and solely depended, but *Argyle* would immediately deliver up the Person of the King into the hands of *Cromwell*; and with the Assistance He would willingly give, make that Kingdom Tributary or Subservient to him, whilst the King remain'd his Prisoner, and *Argyle* continued his Vice-gerent in *Scotland*. No doubt these objections had too much weight in them not to be thought worthy of Apprehension, by many Men, who were not blinded with passion, or amazed with despair: And though they were not able to give any other Counsel, what Course the King might steer with reasonable hope and security, they might yet warrantably dissuade his exposing himself to so many visible dangers as that Voyage was subject to both at Sea and Land; and might prudently believe, that the enjoying the empty title of King, in what

what obscurity soever, in any part of the world, was to be perfer'd before the empty name of King in any of his own Dominions; which was the best that could reasonably be expected from the conditions which were imposed upon him; to which he was compelled to submit.

DURING this time, when the Embassadors who were in *Spain*, expected every day to hear of his Majesty's being arriv'd in *Ireland*, and had thereupon importuned that Court for a dispatch, the King gave them notice of this his resolution, and directed them "to remain where they were, till he "could better judge of his own Fortune. They were extremely troubled, both of them having always had a strong aversion that the King should ever venture himself in the hands of that Party of the *Scottish* Nation, which had treated his Father so perfidiously. And they were now necessitated to stay there, where they had receiv'd so little Encouragement, and had no reason to expect more. They therefore resolv'd to set the best face they could upon it, and desired an Audience from the King: in which they told his Catholic Majesty, "that they had receiv'd Letters from the King The two Embassadors in Spain had Order from the King to stay where they were.
 "their Master; who commanded them to inform his Majesty, They acquaint the King of Spain with their Majesty's resolution for Scotland.
 "who, he knew well, would be glad to hear of any good fortune that befel him, that it had now pleased God to work so far upon the hearts and affections of his Subjects of *Scotland*, that they had given over all those Factions and Animosities, which had heretofore divided them, and made them rather Instruments of mischiefs, than benefit to his blessed Father, and to himself: that they were now sensible of all those Miscarriages, and had sent unanimously to intreat his Majesty to come into that Kingdom, and to take them all into his Protection; with which his Majesty was so well satisfied, that he had laid aside the thought of transporting himself into *Ireland*; which he had intended to do; and was gone into *Scotland*; where the Kingdom was entirely at his devotion, and from whence he could visit *England*, or *Ireland*, as he found it most convenient: and that he had reason to believe, that his friends in either of the Kingdoms, would quickly appear in Armes, when they were sure to be so powerfully assisted, and seconded. And they said, "they would, from time to time, inform his Majesty of the good success that should fall out. The King The King of Spain's answer is them. professed "to be very glad of this good News; and that they should assure the King their Master, that he would be always ready to make all the demonstration of a Brotherly Affection that the ill condition of his own Affairs would permit, and that, if it pleased God to give a Peace to the
 "two

"two Crowns, the world should see how forward he would be to revenge the wrong, and indignity the King of great *Britain* had undergone.

THOUGH the Embassadors themselves were afflicted with the News of his Majesty's being gone for *Scotland*, upon the too much knowledge they had of the treachery of that Faction there, yet they found his Majesty was much the more esteem'd in this Court by it. He was before looked upon as being dispossessed, and disinherited of all his Dominions, as if he had no more Subjects than those few who were banish'd with him, and that there was an entire defection in all the rest. But now that he was possessed of one whole Kingdom, in which no Man appear'd in Arms against him, a Kingdom which had been famous for many warlike Actions, and which always bred a very warlike People, which had borne good parts in all the Wars of *Europe* in this Age, and had been celebrated in them, was a happy advance, and administer'd reasonable hope that he might be establish'd in the other two Kingdoms, in one of which he was thought to have a good, and was known to have a numerous Army on Foot at that very time: so that the Embassadors were much better look'd upon than they had been; and when they made any complaints of injuries done to any of the *English* Merchants who liv'd in the Ports of *Spain*, as they had sometimes occasion to do, upon Taxes and Impositions laid upon them, contrary to the Treaties which had been made, and which they said were still in force, they were heard with respect; the Merchants were reliev'd; and many favours were done to particular Persons upon their desires and interposition: so that they were not so much out of Countenance as they had been, and all Men spoke with more freedom and detestation against the Rebellion in *England*, and the barbarity thereof, than they had used to do.

THERE fell out at this time, and before the King left *Holland*, an accident of such a prodigious nature, that, if Providence had not, for the reproach of *Scotland*, determin'd that the King should once more make experiment of the courage and fidelity of that Nation, could not but have diverted his Majesty from that Northern Expedition; which, how unsecure soever it appear'd to be for the King, was predestinated for a greater chastisement and mortification of that People, as it shortly after prov'd to be. When the King had left *Holland*, the Summer before, and intended only to make *France* his way to *Ireland*, he had given his Commission to the Marquis of *Montrose*, to gather such a force together, as by the help of the Northern Princes he might be enabled to

o do. Upon which the Marquis, who was naturally full of great thoughts, and confident of Success, sent several Officers who had serv'd in *Germany*, and promised very much, to draw such Troops together as they should be enabled to do, and himself, with a great Train of Officers and Servants, went for *Hamburg*; which he appointed for the Rendezvous for all these Troops, and from whence he could in the mean time visit such Courts of the Neighbour Princes and States, as he should be encouraged to do; and keep such Intelligence with his Friends in *Scotland*, as should provide for his reception.

The Marquis of Montrose goes for Hamburg to solicit for Favour.

BESIDES the hopes and encouragement he had receiv'd from the Embassadour *Wolfelte*, to expect good Supplies in *Denmark*, there were many Officers of good Name and Account in *Sweden*, of the *Scotish* Nation, who were grown Rich, and liv'd in plenty in that Kingdom. With the principal of them, the Marquis had held Correspondence; who undertook, as well for others as for themselves, "that if the Marquis engaged himself in the King's Service in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, they would give him notable Assistance in Money, Armes, and Men. In a word, he sent, or went in Person, to both those Kingdoms; where he found the performance very disproportionable to their promises. Queen *Christina* had receiv'd an Agent from *England* with wonderful Civility and Grace, and express'd a great esteem of the Person of *Cromwell*, as a Man of glorious Atchievements; and before she resign'd the Crown, which she in few years after did, she engaged it in a fast Alliance with the new Commonwealth, and dispos'd her Successor to look upon it as a necessary Support to his Crown. In *Denmark*, the Marquis found good Wishes enough, a hearty detestation of all the Villainies which had been acted in *England*, and as hearty wishes for the Advancement and Prosperity of the King's Affairs; but the Kingdom it self was very Poor, and full of Discontent, the King not so much esteem'd, because not so much fear'd, as his Father had been, and he had been counsel'd to make many unreasonable Concessions to *Holland*, that he might have Assistance from them, to Protect him from those Assaults and Invasions which were threaten'd from *Sweden*. So that the Marquis was oblig'd to return to *Hamburg*, with very small Supplies, from either or both those Kingdoms: And there he receiv'd no better account from those Officers who had been sent into *Germany*. His design had always been to Land in the High-lands of *Scotland*, before the Winter Season should be over, both for the safety of his Embarkation, and that he might have time to draw those

those People together, who, he knew, would be willing to repair to him, before it should be known at *Edenborough* that he was Landed in the Kingdom. He had, by frequent Messages, kept a constant Correspondence with those principal Heads of the Clans who were most powerful in the Highlands, and were of known, or unsuspected Affection to the King, and advertised them of all his motions and designs. And by them acquainted those of the Low-lands of all his Resolutions; who had promised, upon the first notice of his arrival, to resort with all their Friends and Followers to him.

WHETHER these Men did really believe, that their own strength would be sufficient to subdue their Enemies, who were grown generally odious, or thought the bringing over Troops of Foreigners would lessen the Numbers and Affections of the Natives, they did write very earnestly to the Marquis, "to hasten his coming over with Officers, Armes, and Ammunition; for which he should find hands enough; and gave him notice, "that the Committee of Estates at *Edenborough* had sent again to the King to come over to "them; and that the People were so impatient for his presence, that *Argyle* was compell'd to consent to the Invitation. It is very probable that this made the greatest impression upon him. He knew very well how few Persons there were about the King, who were like to continue firm in those Principles, which could only confirm his Majesty in his former Resolutions against the persuasions, and importunities of many others, who knew how to represent to him the desperateness of his Condition any other way, than by repairing into *Scotland* upon any Conditions. *Montrose* knew, that of the two Factions there, which were not like to be reconciled, each of them were equally his implacable Enemies; so that which soever prevail'd, He should be still in the same State, the whole Kirk, of what temper soever, being alike malicious to Him; and hearing likewise of the successive Misfortunes in *Ireland*, he concluded, the King would not trust himself there. Therefore upon the whole, and concluding that all his hopes from *Germany* and those Northern Princes would not encrease the strength he had already, he caused, in the depth of the Winter, those Soldiers he had drawn together, which did not amount to above five hundred, to be Embarked, and sent Officers with them, who knew the Country, with directions that they should Land in such a place in the High-lands, and remain there, as they might well do, till he came to them, or sent them Orders. And then in another Vessel Mann'd by People well known

to him, and Commanded by a Captain very faithful to the King, and who was well acquainted with that Coast, he Embarked himself, and near one hundred Officers, and Landed in another Creek, not far from the other place, whither his Soldiers were directed. And both the one and the other Party were set safely on Shore in the places they design'd; from whence the Marquis himself with some Servants, and Officers, repair'd presently to the House of a Gentleman of Quality, with whom he had corresponded, who expected him; by whom he was well receiv'd, and thought himself to be in security till he might put his Affairs in some method: And therefore order'd his other small Troops to contain themselves in those uncouth Quarters, in which they were, and where he thought they were not like to be disturb'd by the visitation of any Enemy.

AFTER he had stay'd there a short time, it being in *March* about the end of the year 1649, he quickly possess'd himself of an old Castle; which, in respect of the Situation in a Country so impossible for any Army to march in, he thought strong enough for his purpose: thither he convey'd the Armes, Ammunition, and Troops, which he had brought with him. And then he publish'd his Declaration, "that he came with the King's Commission, to assist those his good Subjects, and to preserve them from oppression: That he did not intend to give any interruption to the Treaty that he heard was enter'd into with his Majesty; but, on the contrary, hoped that his being in the head of an Army, how small soever, that was faithful to the King, might advance the same. However, he had given sufficient proof in his former Actions, that if any Agreement were made with the King, upon the first Order from his Majesty, he should lay down his Armes, and dispose himself according to his Majesty's good pleasure. These Declarations he sent to his Friends to be scatter'd by them, and dispersed amongst the People, as they could be able. He writ likewise to those of the Nobility, and the Heads of the several Clans, "to draw such Forces together, as they thought necessary to joyn with him; and he receiv'd Answers from many of them, by which they desired him "to advance more into the Land (for he was yet in the remotest parts of *Cathness*) and assured him, "that they would meet him with good Numbers: And they did prepare so to do, some really; and others, with a purpose to betray him.

IN this state stood the Affair in the end of the year 1649: but because the unfortunate Tragedy of that Noble Person succeeded so soon after, without the intervention of any notable circum-

Mountrose
Embarks for
Scotland;
lands there
in March
1649.

publishes his
Declaration.

The conti-
nuation of
Moun-
trose's Af-
fairs, after
the end of
the year 49,
to his death.

circumstances to interrupt it, We will rather continue the relation of it in this place, than defer it to be return'd in the proper season; which quickly ensued, in the beginning of the next year. The Marquis of *Argyle* was vigilant enough, to observe the motion of an Enemy that was so formidable to him; and had present information of his Arrival in the High-lands, and of the small Forces which he had brought with him. The Parliament was then sitting at *Edenborough*, their Messenger being return'd to them from *Jersey*, with an account, "that the King would treat with their Commis-
sioners at *Breda*; for whom they were preparing their In-
structions.

Colonel Stra-
ghan sent
against him
and his small
Forces.

THE Alarm of *Montrose's* being Landed startled them all, and gave them no leisure to think of any thing else than of sending Forces to hinder the recourse of others to joyn with him. They immediately sent Colonel *Straghan* a diligent and active Officer, with a choice Party of the best Horse they had, to make all possible hast towards him, and to prevent the Insurrections, which they fear'd would be in several parts of the High-lands. And, within few days after, *David Lesley* followed with a stronger Party of Horse and Foot. The encouragement the Marquis of *Montrose* receiv'd from his Friends, and the unpleasantness of the Quarters in which he was, prevail'd with him to march, with these few Troops, more into the Land. And the High-landers flocking to him from all Quarters, though ill-Arm'd, and worse Disciplin'd, made him undervalue any Enemy who, he thought, was yet like to encounter him. *Straghan* made such hast, that the Earl of *Southerland*, who at least pretended to have gather'd together a Body of fifteen hundred Men to meet *Montrose*, chose rather to joyn with *Straghan*: others did the like, who had made the same promises, or stay'd at home to expect the event of the first encounter. The Marquis was without any Body of Horse to discover the motion of an Enemy, but depended upon all necessary Intelligence from the affection of the People; which he believ'd to be the same it was when he left them. But they were much degenerated; the Tyranny of *Argyle*, and his having caused very many to be barbarously Murder'd, without any form of Law or Justice, who had been in Armes with *Montrose*, notwithstanding all Acts of Pardon, and Indemnity, had so broken their Hearts, that they were ready to do all offices that might gratify and oblige him. So that *Straghan* was within a small distance of him, before he heard of his approach; and those High-landers, who had seem'd to come with much zeal to him, whether terrified, or corrupted, left him on a suddain, or

threw down their Armes; so that he had none left, but a Company of good Officers, and five or six hundred Forreigners, *Dutch and Germans*, who had been acquainted with their Officers. With these, he betook himself to a place of some advantage by the inequality of the ground, and the bushes and small shrubs which fill'd it: and there they made a defence for some time with notable Courage.

BUT the Enemy being so much superior in number, the Common Soldiers, being all Forreigners, after about a hundred of them were kill'd upon the Place, threw down their Armes; and the Marquis, seeing all lost, threw away his Ribban and *George* (for he was Knight of the Garter) and found means to change his Cloaths with a Fellow of the Country, ^{By whom Moutrose is routed.} and so after having gone on foot two or three miles, he got into a House of a Gentleman, where he remain'd conceal'd about two days: most of the other Officers were shortly after taken Prisoners, all the Country desiring to merit from *Argyle* by betraying all those into his hands which they believ'd to be his Enemies. And thus, whether by the owner of the House, or any other way, the Marquis himself became their Prisoner. The Strangers who were taken, were set at Liberty, and Transported themselves into their own Countries; and the Castle, in which there was a little Garrison, presently render'd it self; so that there was no more fear of an Enemy in those parts. ^{The Marquis of Moutrose taken Prisoner.}

THE Marquis of *Moutrose*, and the rest of the Prisoners, were the next day, or soon after, deliver'd to *David Lesley*; who was come up with his Forces, and had now nothing left to do but to carry them in Triumph to *Edenborough*; whether Notice was quickly sent of their great Victory; which was receiv'd there with wonderful joy, and acclamation. *David Lesley* treated the Marquis with great insolence, and for some days carried him in the same Cloaths, and Habit, in which he was taken; but at last permitted him to buy better. His behaviour was, in the whole time, such as became a great Man; his countenance Serene and Chearful, as one that was superior to all those reproaches, which they had prepar'd the People to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to pass.

WHEN he came to one of the Gates of *Edenborough*, he was met by some of the Magistrates, to whom he was deliver'd, and by them presently put into a new Cart purposely made, in which there was a high Chair, or Bench, upon which he sat, that the People might have a full view of him, being bound with a Cord drawn over his breast and shoulders, and fasten'd through holes made in the Cart. When he

was in this posture, the Hangman took off his hat, and rode himself before the Cart in his Livery, and with his Bonnet on; the other Officers, who were taken Prisoners with him, walking two and two before the Cart; the Streets, and Windows being full of People to behold the Triumph over a Person whose Name had made them tremble some few years before, and into whose hands the Magistrates of that place had, upon their Knees, deliver'd the Keys of that City. In this manner he was carried to the Common Goal, where he was receiv'd and treated as a Common Malefactor. Within two days after, he was brought before the Parliament, where the Earl of *Lowden*, the Chancellor, made a very bitter and virulent Declaration against him: told him, "he had broken all the Covenants by which that whole Nation stood oblig'd; and had impiously rebell'd against God, the King, and the Kingdom; that he had committed many horrible Murders, Treasons, and Impieties, for all which he was now brought to suffer condign punishment; with all those insolent reproaches upon his Person, and his Actions, which the liberty of that place gave him leave to use.

He is brought before the Parliament:

His behaviour there.

PERMISSION was then given him to speak; and without the least trouble in his countenance, or disorder, upon all the indignities he had suffer'd, he told them, "since the King had own'd them so far as to treat with them, he had appear'd before them with reverence, and bare-headed, which otherwise he would not willingly have done: that he had done nothing of which he was ashamed, or had cause to repent; that the first Covenant, he had taken, and comply'd with it, and with them who took it, as long as the ends for which it was ordain'd were observ'd; but when he discover'd, which was now evident to all the world, that private and particular Men design'd to satisfy their own ambition and interest, instead of considering the Publick benefit; and that, under the pretence of reforming some errors in Religion, they resolv'd to abridge, and take away the King's just power, and lawful authority, he had withdrawn himself from that Engagement: that for the League and Covenant, he had never taken it, and therefore could not break it: and it was now too apparent to the whole Christian World, what monstrous mischiefs it had produced: that when, under colour of it, an Army from *Scotland* had invaded *England* in Assistance of the Rebellion that was then against their Lawful King, he had, by his Majesty's Command, receiv'd a Commission from him to raise Forces in *Scotland*, that he might thereby divert them from the other odious prosecution: that he had executed that Commission with the obedi-

"dience and duty he ow'd to the King; and in all the circumstances of it, had proceeded like a Gentleman; and had never suffer'd any Blood to be shed but in the heat of the Battle; and that he saw many Persons there, whose lives he had saved: that when the King commanded him, he laid down his Armes, and withdrew out of the Kingdom; which they could not have compell'd him to have done. He said, he was now again enter'd into the Kingdom by his Majesty's Command, and with his Authority: and what Success soever it might have pleas'd God to have given him, he would always have obeyed any commands he should have receiv'd from him. He advis'd them, "to consider well of the consequence before they proceeded against him, and that all his Actions might be examin'd, and judg'd by the Laws of the Land, or those of Nations.

As soon as he had ended his discourse, he was order'd to withdraw; and, after a short space, was again brought in; and told by the Chancellor, "that he was, on the Morrow, "being the one and twentieth of May 1650, to be carried to *Edinburgh* Cross, and there to be hanged upon a Gallows The Sentence against him. "thirty foot high, for the space of three hours, and then "to be taken down, and his head to be cut off upon a Scaffold, and hanged on *Edinburgh* Tolbooth; his Legs and Armes to be hanged up in other publick Towns of the Kingdom, and his body to be buried at the place where he was to be executed, except the Kirk should take off his Excommunication; and then his body might be buried in the common place of burial. He desired, "that he might say somewhat to them; but was not suffer'd, and so was carried back to the Prison.

THAT he might not enjoy any ease or quiet during the short remainder of life, their Ministers came presently to insult over him with all the reproaches imaginable; pronounced His discourse with the Presbyterian Ministers. his damnation; and assur'd him, "that the judgement he was "the next day to suffer, was but an easy Prologue to that which "he was to undergo afterwards. After many such barbarities, they offer'd to intercede for him to the Kirk upon his repentance, and to pray with him; but he too well understood the Form of Their Common Prayer, in those Cases, to be only the most virulent, and insolent imprecations upon the Persons of those they prayed against "(Lord, vouchsafe Yet "to touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible Sinner, this wicked, perjured, and prophane Person, who refuses to hearken to the voice of thy Kirk, and the like charitable expressions) and therefore he desired them "to spare "their pains, and to leave him to his own Devotions. He

told them. "that they were a miserable, deluded, and deluding People; and would shortly bring that poor Nation under the most insupportable Servitude ever People had submitted to. He told them, "he was prouder to have his head set upon the place it was appointed to be, than he could have been to have had his Picture hang in the King's Bed-Chamber: that he was so far from being troubled that his four Limbs were to be hang'd in four Cities of the Kingdom, that he heartily wish'd that he had flesh enough to be sent to every City in *Christendom*, as a Testimony of the Cause for which he suffer'd.

His Execution.

THE next day, they executed every part and circumstance of that barbarous Sentence, with all the inhumanity imaginable; and he bore it with all the courage and magnanimity, and the greatest piety, that a good Christian could manifest. He magnified the virtue, courage, and Religion of the last King, exceedingly commended the justice, and goodness, and understanding of the present King; and prayed, "that they might not betray Him, as they had done his Father. When he had ended all he meant to say, and was expecting to expire, they had yet one Scene more to Act of their Tyranny. The Hangman brought the Book that had been publish'd of his truly Heroick Actions, whilst he had commanded in that Kingdom, which Book was tied in a small Cord that was put about his Neck. The Marquis smiled at this new instance of their Malice, and thanked them for it; and said, "he was pleased that it should be there; and was prouder of wearing it than ever he had been of the Garter; and so renewing some devout Ejaculations, he patiently endured the last Act of the Executioner.

The Execution of his Officers.

SOON after, the Officers who had been taken with him, *St William Urry*, *St Francis Hay*, and many others, of as good Families as any in the Kingdom, were executed, to the number of thirty or forty, in several quarters of the Kingdom; many of them being suffer'd to be beheaded. There was one whom they thought fit to save, one Colonel *Whitford*; who, when he was brought to dye, said "he knew the reason why "he was put to death; which was only because he had killed */see p. 293.* "*Dorikau* at the *Hague*; who was one of those who had joyn'd in the Murther of the last King. One of the Magistrates, who were present to see the Execution, caus'd it to be suspended, till he presently inform'd the Council what the Man had said; and they thought fit to avoid the reproach; and so preserv'd the Gentleman; who was not before known to have had a hand in that Action.

THUS died the gallant Marquis of *Montrose*, after he had given

given as great a Testimony of Loyalty, and Courage, as a Subject can do, and perform'd as wonderful Actions in several Battles, upon as great inequality of Numbers, and as great disadvantages in respect of Armes, and other preparations for War, as have been perform'd in this Age. He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Extraction, many of whose Ancestors had exercised the highest Charges under the King in that Kingdom, and had been allied to the Crown itself. He was of very good parts, which were improv'd by a good Education: he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the Marquis of *Argyle* (as he was too apt to condemn those he did not love) who wanted nothing but honesty and courage to be a very extraordinary Man, having all other good Talents in a very great degree. *Montrose* was in his nature fearless of danger, and never declined any Enterprise for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected those which seem'd desperate to other Men, and did believe somewhat to be in himself above other Men, which made him live more easily towards those who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him (towards whom he exercised wonderful civility, and generosity) than with his Superiors or Equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean so well as he. He was not without Vanity, but his Virtues were much superior, and he well deserv'd to have his Memory preserv'd, and celebrated amongst the most illustrious Persons of the Age in which he liv'd.

THE King receiv'd an Account and Information of all these particulars, before he embarked from *Holland*, without any other Apology for the Affront and Indignity to himself, than that they assured him, "that the proceeding against the late Marquis of *Montrose* had been for his Service. They who were most displeased with *Argyle* and his Faction, were not sorry for this inhuman, and monstrous prosecution; which at the same time must render him the more odious, and had rid them of an Enemy that they thought would have been more dangerous to them; and they perswaded the King, who was enough afflicted with the News, and all the circumstances of it, "that he might sooner take revenge upon that People by a temporary complying with them, and going to them, than staying away, and absenting himself, "which would invest them in an absolute Dominion in that Kingdom, and give them power to corrupt or destroy all those who yet remain'd faithful to him, and were ready to spend their lives in his Service: and so his Majesty pursued his former resolution of embarking for *Scotland*.

The affairs
of Ireland:

IN Ireland, after the Massacre of that Body of *English* at *Tredagh*, and the treacherous giving up the Towns in *Ulster*, by the Officers of the Lord *Inchiquin*, there broke out so implacable a jealousy amongst the *Irish* against all the *English*, that no Orders of the Marquis of *Ormond* found any obedience, nor could he draw an Army together. At the making of the Peace, he had consented that the Confederate Roman Catholics should name a Number of the Commissioners, by whose Orders and Ministry all Levies of Men, and all Collections of Money were to be made, according to the directions of the Lord Lieutenant. And such Persons were named, in whose Affections, for the most part, the Lieutenant was well satisfied, and the rest were such as were not like to be able to give any interruption. A certain Number of these were appointed to be always in the Army, and near the Person of the Lord Lieutenant, and the rest in their several Stations, where they were most like to advance the Service. Many of these Commissioners were of the Roman Catholick Nobility, Persons of Honour, and very sensible of the weakness, wilfulness, and wickedness of that Rebellion; and did manifest all possible zeal and affection to the King's Service, engaging their Persons in all Enterprises of danger, and using all possible industry to raise Men and Money, whereby the Lord Lieutenant might be enabled to carry on the War in the Spring. But many of the other, after those misfortunes had fallen out, which are mention'd before, either totally desponded, and rather thought of providing for themselves than for the preservation of the Publick; or fomented the jealousies which were amongst the *Irish*, and incensed them against the *English*, who were still with the Lord Lieutenant; so that his Orders were not obey'd at all, or not in time, which was as bad; and their Clergy and Fryars publicly incensed the People against the Articles of the Peace, and desired to have an Army raised apart under a General of their own.

THE Lord Lieutenant now discover'd the Reason, why *Owen O Neile* had refused to consent to the Peace which the Confederate Roman Catholics had made with the King, and kept his Army in *Ulster* from submitting therunto, and pretended to desire to treat apart with the Lord Lieutenant for himself; which was then thought to proceed from the jealousy that was between Him and *Presben*, and the Animosity between those old *Irish* of *Ulster*, and the other of the other Provinces. But the truth was, from the time of the Marquis of *Ormond's* transporting himself out of *France*, and that the correspondence was discover'd to be between Him and

and the Lord *Ischiquin*, and the Treaty begun with the Confederate Catholics, the close Committee at *Westminster* sent secret Instructions to *Monk*, who Commanded part of their Forces in *Ireland*, "that he should endeavour to treat with *Owen O Neile*, and so divide him from the rest of the *Irish*; which *Monk* found opportunity to do: And it was no sooner proposed than hearken'd unto by *O Neile*; who presently sent a trusty Messenger with such Propositions to *Monk*, as he desired to have granted to him. He offer'd, "with his Army, "which should always consist of such a Number of Horse "and Foot, and Artillery, as should be agreed between them, "to serve the Parliament; and not to separate from their Interest; and proposed, "that he, and all his Party that should adhere to him, should enjoy the Exercise of their Religion, "without any prejudice or disadvantage: That himself might be restored to those Lands which his Ancestors had been possessed of in *Tyrone*, *London-Derry*, or any other parts of *Ireland*; and that all those, who had or would adhere to him, should be likewise restored to their Estates; and that "an Act of Oblivion might be granted, *Monk* receiv'd these Propositions; and after he had perus'd them, he sent him word, "that there were some particulars, which, he doubted, "would shock and offend the Parliament, and therefore desired they might be alter'd; and proposed the alterations he advis'd; which principally concern'd the Publick Exercise of their Religion; which he so qualified, that they might well enough satisfy; and proposed, "that, if *O Neile* would consent to those alterations, he would return the Treaty sign'd by him; which he would immediately send over to the Parliament for their confirmation; and that, in the mean time, there might be a Cessation of Armes between them for three Months; in which time, and much less, he presumed, he should receive a Ratification of the Treaty from the Parliament.

OWEN O Neile consented to the alterations, set his Hand and Seal to the Treaty, and return'd it to *Monk*, with his consent likewise to the Cessation for three Months. And at this time it was, that he refused to agree with the Confederate Council at *Kilkenny* in the Peace with the King. *Monk* sent it presently to the Committee, which had given him Authority to do what he had done. But their Affairs were now better compos'd at home, and some preparations were made towards sending relief for *Ireland*; besides, they had not Authority to make any such Ratification, but presented it to the Parliament, which could only give it. It was no sooner reported there but the House was on fire; all Men inveigh'd

*The House re-
solves to Ratify
Monk's Treaty with
Owen O
Neile.*

against "the presumption of *Monk*, who deserv'd to be displaced, and to have his Command taken from him, and to have exemplary punishment inflicted on him. They remember'd how Criminal they had declared it to be in the King himself, to have treated, and made a Peace with the *Irish* Rebels: And what would the People think, and say, if any countenance should be given to the same transgression by the Parliament? if they should Ratify a Treaty made by the most notorious of the Rebels, and with that People under his Command, who were the most notorious Contrivers of that Rebellion, and the most bloody Executioners of it? for the most Merciless Massacres had been committed in *Ulster*, by that very People who now constituted that Army of which *Owen O Neile* was now General. After all the passion and choler which they thought necessary to express upon this subject, "they declared, "that they "had given no Authority to *Monk* to enter into that Treaty; "and therefore, that it was void, and should never be confirmed by them; but that, since he had proceeded out of "the sincerity of his Heart, and as he thought (how erroneously soever) for the good and benefit of the Commonwealth, he should be excused; and no farther question'd thereupon. For they knew well, that he could produce such a Warrant from those in Authority, as would well justify his proceeding: And so the Treaty with *Owen O Neile* became void, though they had receiv'd a very considerable benefit by it; for though the *Scots* in *Ulster* had not yet submitted to the Peace, and had not yet receiv'd directions from *Edenborough* to acknowledge the Authority of the Lord Lieutenant, which they ought to have had before that time, yet, after the Murther of the late King, they had used all Acts of Hostility against the Parliament Forces, and had besieged *London-Derry*; the only considerable place that yielded obedience to the Parliament; which was defended by *Sr Charles Coote*, and when it was brought to some extremity, by the Cessation made with *Owen O Neile*, and by his connivance and assistance, *London-Derry* was reliev'd; and *O Neile* finding himself deluded by the Parliament, sent then to offer his Service and Conjunction to the Lord Lieutenant, with abundant professions of Fidelity, and Revenge.

CROMWELL made notable use of this Animosity between the *Irish* amongst themselves, and of the jealousy they all appear'd to have of the Marquis of *Ormond* and of those who adher'd to him; and used all the Endeavours he could, by some Prisoners who were taken, and by others who were in the Towns which were betray'd to him, and were well known

known to have affection for the Marquis, to procure a conference with him. He used to ask in such Company, "what the Marquis of *Ormond* had to do with *Charles Stuart*, and "what obligations he had ever receiv'd from him? And then would mention the hard measure his Grand-father had receiv'd from King *James*, and the many years Imprisonment he had sustain'd by him, for not submitting to an extrajudicial and private determination of his; which yet he was at last compell'd to do. He said "he was confident, if the Marquis and "He could meet together, upon Conference, they should "part very good Friends. And many of those with whom he held these discourses, by his permission and licence, inform'd the Marquis of all he said; who endeavour'd nothing but to put himself into such a Posture, as to be able to meet him as he desired to do.

WHEN *Cromwell* saw that he should be able to do nothing that way, and knew well enough that, besides the Army that yet remain'd under *Owen O Neile* so much disoblighd, and provoked, there were still vast Bodies of the *Irish*, Cromwell gives the Irish leave to Transport themselves into any Prince's Service. which might be drawn together into several Armies, much greater and superior in number to all his Forces, and that they had several great Towns, and strong Holds in their power, he declared a full Liberty, and Authority to all the Officers with the *Irish*, and to all other Persons whatsoever, to raise what Men they would, and to Transport them for the Service of any Forreign Princes with whom they could make the best Conditions; and gave notice to the *Spanish* and *French* Ministers, and Agents at *London*, of the Liberty he had granted. Upon which many Officers who had serv'd the King, and remain'd in *London* in great poverty and want, made Conditions with *Don Alonso de Cardinas*, to raise Regiments and Transport them into *Spain*; and many Officers, who were already in *Spain*, as well *English* as *Irish*, contracted with the Ministers in that Court to raise and Transport several Regiments into that Kingdom from *Ireland*; for which they receiv'd very great Sums of Money in hand; many Merchants joyning with them in the Contract, and undertaking the Transportation upon very good Conditions; there being no other danger but of the Sea in the undertaking; insomuch that, in very few Months above a year, there were Embarked in the Ports of *Ireland* above five and twenty thousand Men for the Kingdom of *Spain*; whereof not half were ever drawn into the Field there, and very few ever liv'd to return. For the Officers and Masters of Ships, who contracted, and were bound to deliver their Men at such Ports as were assign'd to them, and where care was taken for their

their reception, and conduct to the Quarters which were appointed, according to the Service to which they were design'd, either for *Catalonia*, or *Portugal* (after they had been long at Sea, by which the Soldiers, who were crowded more together into one Ship than was fit for so long Voyages, had contracted many diseases, and many were dead, and thrown over Board) as soon as they came upon the Coast made all hast to Land, how far soever from the place at which they stood bound to deliver their Men; by which, in those places that could make resistance, they were not suffer'd to Land, and in others no Provision was made for their reception or march, but very great Numbers were starv'd or knocked in the Head by the Country People, and few ever came up to the Armies, except Officers; who flock'd to *Madrid* for the remainder of their Monies; where the Ministers receiv'd them with reproaches for not observing their Conditions, and refused to pay either them, or the Masters of the Ships, what remain'd to be paid by them: This was the Case of too many: though the truth is, where the Articles were punctually observ'd, and the Ships arriv'd in the very Ports assign'd, by the defect in the Orders sent from the Court, or the negligent execution of them, the poor Men were often kept from disembarking, till some Officers went to *Madrid*, and return'd with more positive Orders, and afterwards so ill Provision was made for their refreshing and march, that rarely half of those who were shipp'd in *Ireland*, ever liv'd to do any Service in *Spain*: and nothing could be more wonderful, than that the Ministers there should issue out such vast Sums in Money for the raising of Soldiers, and bringing them into the Kingdom at very liberal and bountiful rates to the Officers, and take so very little care to cherish, and nourish them, when they came thither; which manifested how loose the Government was.

It is very true, that there was at that time a much greater inclination in the *Irish* for the Service of *Spain*, than of *France*; yet the Cardinal employ'd more active and dextrous Instruments to make use of the Liberty that was granted, and Shipping was more easily procured, the passage being shorter; insomuch that there were not fewer than twenty thousand Men at the same time Transported out of *Ireland* into the Kingdom of *France*; of whose behaviour in the one Kingdom and the other, there will be abundant Argument hereafter to discourse at large. In the mean time, it is enough to observe that when the King's Lieutenant, notwithstanding all the promises, obligations, and contracts; which the Confederate Roman Catholics had made to, and with him, could not draw together

together a Body of five thousand Men (by which he might have been able to have given some stop to the current of *Cromwell's* successes) *Cromwell* himself found a way to send above forty thousand Men out of that Kingdom for Service of Foreign Princes; which might have been enough to have driven him from thence, and to have restor'd it to the King's entire obedience.

IN *England*, the Spirits of all the Loyal Party were so broken and subdued, that they could scarce breath under the insupportable burthens which were laid upon them by Imprisonments, Compositions, and Sequestrations. Whatever Articles they had made in the War, and whatever promises had been made of Pardon and Indemnity, they were now call'd upon to finish their Composition for their Delinquency, and paid dear for the Credit they had given to the Professions and Declarations of the Army, when it seem'd to have pity, and complain'd of the severe and rigorous proceeding against the King's Party, and extorting unreasonable penalties from them; which then they desir'd might be moderated. But now the Mask was off they Sequester'd all their Estates, and left them nothing to live upon, till they should compound; which they were forced to do at so unreasonable rates, that many were compell'd to sell half, that they might enjoy the other towards the support of their Families; which remainder was still liable to whatever impositions they at any time thought fit to inflict upon them, as their Persons were to Imprisonment, when any unreasonable and groundless report was raised of some Plot, and Conspiracy against the State.

The low condition of the Loyal Party in England.

see also p. 575.

THE Parliament, which consisted only of those Members who had sat in Judgement, and had solemnly Murther'd the King, and of those who as solemnly under their hands had approv'd, and commended what the others had done, met with no opposition or contradiction from any, but an entire submission from all to all they did, except only from that part of their own Army which had contributed most to the Grandeur and Empire of which they were possess'd, the Levellers. That People had been countenanced by *Cromwell* to enter into Cabals and Confederacies to corrupt, and dissolve the discipline of the Army, and by his Artifices had been apply'd to bring all his crooked designs to pass. By them he broke the strict Union between the Parliament and the *Scots*, and then took the King out of the hands of the Parliament, and kept him in the Army, with so many fair professions of intending better to his Majesty, and his Party, than the other did; by them the Presbyterians had been affronted, and trodden under foot, and the City of *London* expos'd to disgrace

The Levellers uneasy; and are supported by Fairfax.

+ N.B. At this time was John Lilburne tried for his life but he was acquitted contrary to expectation & discharge tho' in y^e year 1653 tho' he was acquitted on a life royal yet he was thro' Cromwell's tyrannical spirit removed from one Army to another till he died of y^e Plague in the H^h. B. XIV. p. 503.
N.B. The Principles of these Levellers were a little before this time expos'd in a Sermon preached in 1648 on Luke 20. 14. by a 22^d. Coy. Cavalier Paul Knell in A. of Cheshall in Cambridge of
... as he is given in ... of Woodst. the Oxon. Nov. 164

and infamy; by them he had broken the Treaty of the life of *Wight*; driven out of the Parliament, by force of Armes, all those who desir'd Peace, and at last executed his barbarous Malice upon the Sacred Person of the King: And when he had apply'd them to all those uses, for which he thought them to be most fit, he hoped, and endeavour'd to have reduced them again, by a severe hand, into that order and obedience from whence he had seduced them, and which was now as necessary to his future purpose of Government. But they had tasted too much of the pleasure of having their part, and share in it, to be willing to be stripped, and depriv'd of it; and made an unskilful computation of what they should be able to do for the future, by the great things they had done before in those Changes and Revolutions which are mention'd; not considering, that the superior Officers of the Army were now united with the Parliament, and concurr'd entirely in the same designs. And therefore when they renew'd their former Expostulations and Demands from the Parliament, they were Caltheer'd, and Imprison'd, and some of them put to death. Yet about the time that *Cromwell*, who had prosecuted them with great fury, was going for *Ireland*, they recover'd their Courage, and resolv'd to obtain those Concessions by force, which were refused to be granted upon their request: And so they mutiny'd in several Parts, upon presumption that the rest of the Army, who would not joyn with them in publick, would yet never be prevail'd with to oppose, and reduce them by force. But this confidence deceiv'd them; for the Parliament no sooner commanded their General *Fairfax* to suppress them, than he drew Troops together, and fell upon them at *Banbury*, *Burford*, and in other places; and by killing some upon the place, and executing others to terrify the rest, he totally suppress'd that Faction; and the Orders of those at *Westminster* met with no more opposition.

THIS was the State and Condition of the three Kingdoms at the end of the year 1649, some few Months after the King Embarked himself in *Holland* for *Scotland*. And since the next year afforded great variety of unfortunate Actions, We will end this discourse, according to the method We have used, with this year: though hereafter We shall not continue the same method; but comprehend the occurrences of many years in less room, whilst the King rested in a patient Expectation of God's Blessing, and Deliverance.

THE END OF THE TWELFTH BOOK.

- The Imposition of the new oath, call'd the Engagement
next, in B: XI. p. 265. & well & of new modelling the
Government occasion'd a very sharp Paper War. by
Publication of y^e following Treatise Pro & Con. —
1. The Case of the Crown on Wealth of England Stated &c.
4^{to} 1649 & 50. by Marchmont Beckford.
2. Disc^y of the Excellency of a free State above Kingly Govern-
ment 4^{to} 1650 published with y^e former togeth^r: in an Appen-
dix of Palmerin's Defensio Regia & Noble de Cappe. 1649
of 12: re ad Act. in Wood's Ath: Oxon sub: Marchmont Beckford

Discovery of the Body of King Charles the first.
 Windsor ap: 1813.

On Wednesday, March 31st 1813: at the Interment of the
Duchess of Brunswick, sister of the King, at Windsor,
an important discovery was made! — It had
long been suspected that the remains of King Charles
the first, was deposited in a Vault at Windsor,
indeed Wood in his Athenae states the supposition.
On Wednesday a search was made — a Coffin
was opened, which was found to contain the long sought Body! — It was not at
all decayed. — The severed Head had been carefully
adjusted by a cement to the shoulders: and the
resemblance to the portraits was remarked in the
shape of the Head, pointed beard &c. — fragments
of which were carefully taken off as being
as well as to identify the Body!
see the front of this Volume. / Mon: (from 5 ap 13.

Wm. Bayly per. 2

368) While K. Charles II was in Scotland there was published
a very remarkable tract in defence of their Government
entit. The true Portraiture of the Kings of England drawn
from their Titles, Succession Right & Ind. or A Short & Exact
Historical Description of every King, with the Right they had
had to their Crown & the manner of their wearing of it ex-
tractedly from Sir John the Congressant. wherein is demonstrated
that there hath been no direct Succession in this line to
an hereditary Right, for 6 or 700 years, faithfully col-
lected out of our best Histories & humbly presented to the
Parliament of England. By an impartial Friend to Justice
& Truth. in 42 pp. 4 1650 published with a short Recommen-
datory Preface by one Henry Parker of whom see an Account
in the Wood's Hist. Oxon vol. II. 2^d ed. p. 222 sub. an. 1657.









